

EXERCITATIONS

*Critical, Historical,
Philosophical, Theological.*

Wells
1815.

ON

Several Important Places

IN THE

WRITINGS

OF THE

Old and New Testament.

In Two Parts.

By JOHN EDWARDS D. D.

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July 1904

I have been thinking much lately about the
friendship you have shown me since I came
and the pleasure it has given me.
Your letter of the 10th inst. was
received and gave me great joy. I had
not seen your name for some time.
I am glad to hear from you and hope
you are well.

TO THE
RIGHT REVEREND
Father in GOD
Dr. Richard Kidder
Lord Bishop of
Bath and Wells.

My Lord,

I*T is from a Sense of the unmerited Friendship you have honour'd me with, and the particular Kindnesses from your Lordship of a very singular Nature, but chiefly from a Sense of your Lordships transcendent Worth, (which is universally known) that I have presumed to place your Name before the ensuing Papers. I*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

pay a most profound Respect and Honour to Persons of Merit, especially those who have deserved of the Publick, and more especially of the Church. Amongst whom there is none that hath outdone your Lordship in asserting the Protestant Cause, against the Insults of Rome, in Times that were Difficult and Trying: and therefore you have justly gain'd the Approbation and Applause of all Vertuous Men that are Judges of what is Excellent, together with the Satisfaction of your own Conscience. My Lord, I thought I was absolutely obliged to concur with the joynt Sentiment of all the Judicious in our Nation: and consequently it was necessary I should in a manner speak the Universal Language of the Country, which is your Lordships Praises.

I might Recount particularly your Lordships Celebrated Writings against the Jews, and in Defence of the Christian Cause, and the Blessed Author and Founder of it. You have confounded that Miserable and Obstinate People with Arguments of their own choosing; you have vanquish'd those profess'd Enemies of our Religion with their own Weapons. It hath been observ'd, that some of great Reading and Skill in the Jewish Writings, have trodd more than other Men, by doating on Words and Syllables, and I know not what Myste-
ries

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ries and Secrets in the Hebrew Letters, and by a Pedantick busying themselves altogether in Grammar and Etymologies, or by spending their time wholly in Rabinical Whimsies, in Talmudick Fictions and Dreams, in Jewish Fables and Legends. But your Lordship hath vindicated and restored the Credit of the Hebrew Learning, by employing it aright, and making it useful to the best Purposes, namely, those of our own most Holy Religion. On which account I may truly say, That the Great and Learned Lightfoot Survives at this day in your Lordship.

More particularly, you have been pleased to enlighten the Mosaick Writings by your insight into the Sacred Tongue, discover'd so amply in those Concise, but substantial Notes on the Pentateuch. There you have happily taken off the Veil from Moses's Face; yea, you have made it shine with as great a Lustre, as when he came down from the Mount. And not to entrench upon your Lordship's Modesty any further, by representing you to your self, you have purchased a lasting Fame, both at home and abroad, by that solid and successful baffle which your Lordship hath given to the daring Objections of Hobbes and Spinoza, who endeavour'd to disparage the Holy and

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Inspired Writings by calling in question the Authors and Penmen of them.

Having thus in some degree done your Lordship right, I will trouble your Lordship with something relating to my self, and my former and present Performances. I always, in what I have written, propounded to my self to speak the Truth freely, tho' I foresaw I was like to disgust my Readers. I ever look'd upon it as a horrid piece of Dissimulation, to write the Sentiments of Others, as if they were Ours, and to conceal our Own, yea, to utter things against our own Judgments and Perswasions. I chose rather to vindicate those Propositions, of the truth of which I was really perswaded in my own Breast, notwithstanding I knew them to be unacceptable to a great part of the World. And the Man that is hearty in his Sentiments, and is thoroughly convinced of the reality of what he thinks and believes, hath ground to press it with some Warmth and Vigour. I have done this already, and I shall do it yet more, through the Divine Assistance; for I am not ashamed to tell your Lordship, and all the World, that in Defence of the Grand Points of our Religion, and in reflecting on the Perverters of them, I had rather be tax'd for my Zeal than for my Indifference.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

rence. *There are some bad Men that account any thing Passion in a Writer that looks like Concernedness: but this is a meer Artifice (and much used of late) to palliate Scepticism, to promote Infidelity, and to disparage and expose those who faithfully endeavour to advance Truth, and to stifle growing Errors, and to root out false Notions from Mens minds.*

As to the Papers which I now put into your Lordships hands, the Occasion of them was briefly this; I began, when I first enter'd upon writing publickly, with Critical Remarks on some Places of the Old and New Testament. Which Attempt meeting with Success, that is, the Approbation of the Learned, I presented the World with a Second Book of the like Nature, which had the happiness likewise to be well received of those that were Competent Judges of that sort of Literature. I have been often solicited since to publish another Volume of that kind, before I proceed to offer some other things to the Light which I had formerly promised: and my Compliance with the Requests of my Friends, as to this matter, hath produced what your Lordship sees here, some Critical and Philosophical Remarks on sundry places of Scripture, together with a mixture of Thoughts that are

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Philosophical, and others that relate to History, and the rest are purely Theological. In these Exercitations I do not pretend to any Infallible Strokes, I have only modestly propounded my Opinion in the Matters that I have treated of; and I have all along endeavour'd to use such Arguments as I apprehended were the likeliest, and the most approaching to Certainty. I own that I have frequently gone out of the Common Road, but it was in search after Truth; which whether I have found, must be decided by the Impartial and Judicious. But I have endeavour'd in the whole not to merit the Censures of any Wise and Sober Men. I must needs say, I am conscious to my self of the Weakness of this Performance. It is not improbable, that going through such a Variety of Heads, and dealing with so many Authors and Writers, I have somewhere offended: but I make this frank Resolution and Acknowledgment once for all, that if any one shall convince me of any Indecency as to Persons, or Mistakes as to Things in these, or any other of my Writings, I shall heartily thank him, and most willingly shew my dislike of what I have written.

I now return to your Lordship, and I question not but it will be expected by some, that

The Epistle Dedicatory.

I should ask your Pardon for being so Frivolous, and for joyning the Epistle Dedicatory and the Preface in one. But I appeal to your Lordship, whether I have done ill in avoiding the common Practice of those who by their distinct Epistles and Prefaces separate their Patron and the Christian Reader. I confess, I have not used your Lordship as Authors generally do Great Men whom they dedicate their Writings to, the shorter their Epistle is, the more respectful they think they are to their Patron, who they know doth not use to trouble himself with Reading, and therefore they are forced to contract their Address to him in as narrow a compass as they can, lest his Grace or his Lordship should not look upon it, if it extended the length of a moiety of one Page. Thus, with their Abbreviated Epistles and Epitomiz'd Dedications, they palpably jeer those Great Personages whom they pretend to honour and make Court to. Your Lordship gives no occasion for such usage, and therefore I have made bold to entertain your Lordship with a greater number of Lines then are wont to be spread before you on this occasion. Because I was unable to evince the sense I have of your Lordships Friendship and Favours, in Actions; I was thence assured that you would not deny me the priviledge of doing it in this way that I am capable of, as likewise in ardent Wishes and Prayers.

My

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My Lord, I have almost done : let me only be permitted to drop a word or two with relation to the Publick. We live in a changeable World, checker'd with diversity of Accidents. We have seen a Royal Palace turn'd into Rubbish : We have seen a great Prince lodg'd in the Dust, and we have seen that Loss repair'd by the Peaceful Succession of as Great a Prince to the Throne. Your Lordship knows it is a Passage in the Talmud, [Before one Chief Person in a Family dies, another is appointed to Succeed him in his Station.] Which we have found verified in the Royal Family of late : the Divine Wisdom hath substituted one in the place of the other, and fill'd up the room that was vacant. There is an Equivalent given us by Providence, and the Ballance is happily kept even. And now we are entring upon Foreign Action, we are to Encounter a Nation, whose Vices we have been too much enamour'd with, and whose Vanities we ape and admire. But may we no longer Resemble those whom Heaven, I hope, will assist us to Vanquish. Which Blessed Event is reserved for the Glorious Reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen ANNE. Under whose Auspicious Conduct and Government may we all enjoy the Halcyon Days of the Renowned Elizabeth ; and may the Blessings of the Almighty be so plentifully heaped both upon our Church and State, that it may be difficult to tell which are most numerous.

With

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*With particular respect to your Lordship,
my Prayer is, That the Divine Goodness
would be your perpetual Guard and Protection,
and crown you with Long Life and
Health, and grant you a happy and durable
Presidence over the Flocks committed to your
Charge by the Divine Permission and Favour.
After all, I beg that I may have the Satisfaction
and Happiness of owning and professing
my self,*

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Obligated,

Humble and Obedient

Servant

JOHN EDWARDS.

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PART I.

EXERCITATIONS

*Critical, Philosophical, Historical,
Theological,*

On certain PASSAGES in the

WRITINGS

OF THE

Old Testament.

B EXER-

PART I
EXERCITATIONS



WRITINGS

OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT

(1)

EXERCITATION I.

The First Formation of
all Things.

I GEN. I.

*In the beginning God created the
Heaven and the Earth.*

MANY and various Senses have the different Apprehensions of Men affix'd to these first words, *In the beginning.* And indeed I find Critical Commentators so disagreeing, that in expounding this first Verse of the Bible, they seem by too true an Omen to acquaint us how Discrepant they would be in their Sentiments about many other parts of the Holy Scriptures. And some of them truly on this place are so confused and disorder'd, that they seem to anticipate that *Chaos* which they come to treat of

2 *An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1.*

soon after.. I will not trouble the Reader with the Variety of their Opinions and Glosses, but offer that to him which I take to be the most Obvious and Natural, the most Genuine and Proper meaning of the words.

Moses then being about to give us an account of the *Genealogy of the World* from the very beginning to his time, by the word *Bereſhith* he fairly intimates the *Order* and *Method* of the History, making this part of it concerning the Creation to be the *Imprimis* of the whole ensuing Relation. Here is a brief Proposal of the *Creation*: and afterwards you have a particular Journal or Narrative of every days proceeding. In this Verse there is, as it were, the *First Edition* of the World in a dimmer and darker Print, but without any *Errata's*: in the following Verses you have this Great Volume revised, and set out in fairer and more legible Characters. Here is a *General Proposition*, wherein *Moses* declares that the whole World was created by God: which afterwards he explains and describes as to its *Parts*, as they were in six days made. This is that which an acute * Father agrees to, telling us that *Moses* here first compendiously relates the Creation of the *Whole*, and then proceeds

* Cyril Alex. l. 2. cont. Julian.

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 3

to shew how the *Parts* were excellently framed and contrived.

And besides, *in the beginning* doth not only denote the *Order* and *Progress* of the *Mosaical* Narration, but it expresses to us the *Origine* of the *World*. It was not from *Eternity*, as some of the *Old Philosophers* dreamt, but it was erected in time, it had a *beginning*. So that the beginning of *Time* or of the *World*, stiled by our Saviour the *beginning of the Creation which God created*, 13 *Mat. 19.* is here meant. *In the beginning* then is to be taken in the common and simple sense, after the same manner that it is to be understood in the *Poet*, when he saith, *Principio cælum ac terras, &c.* Whatever some have fancied, I take this to be the plain import of the word, and so this first Verse of the *Book of Genesis* is coincident with the leading Article of our *Belief*, which represents to us *God the Father* as *maker of Heaven and Earth*, the *Almighty Creator* of all things. Our *Entrance* then, I hope, is very *Auspicious*: we begin with the beginning of the *Creed*, of the *World*, and of the *Bible* at once.

There are several fond *Conjectures* of *Cabalists* about the next words, *God created*, and the *Surmises* of those Men are not very plain and intelligible: wherefore I will not trouble the *Reader* or my self with them, because all that I have to

4 *An Execcitation on* 1 Gen. 1.

do is to clear the Text, and not to obscure it. Some would have us believe that there lurks a Mystery in this Noun plural *Elohim*, applied to a Verb singular, as if here were denoted to us the *Trinity* of Persons in the Godhead, and the *Unity* of the Divine Essence. But this notion, I believe, will prove to be too subtle, if you consider that the word *Elohim* carries with it no more the signification of Plurality, by virtue of its being Plural, then *Adonim* (which is generally confessed to have no plural signification) or the word *Baalim*, nay no more perhaps then the Latin *Parisi*, *Athene*, or *tenebrae*, or (to return to the *Hebrew* fountain) then the word *Behemoth*, which you will read with a singular adjunct in 14 *Job* 10. but perhaps it is there in a Plural form, to express the bigness and vastness of that Beast which is meant by it, as if it were made up of many Beasts. But the main thing which perswades me that in the form and termination of *Elohim* the Sacred Trinity was not at all designed, is this, that the Third Person in this Undivided Trinity is called רוח אללים *the Spirit of Elohim* in the Verse after my Text: whereas that would be absurd and improper, if the whole Sacred Trinity were designedly signified to us by that word; for how can the *Holy Ghost* be
said

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 5

said to be the Spirit of the *Three Persons*, when he himself is one of those *Persons*? This I think is very convincing.

They therefore are in the right who tell us that this is the Idiom of the Holy Tongue, and that this word being placed in the Plural denotes the *Greatness*, the *Excellency*, the *Power* of God, as indeed the origination it self of the word *Elohim* imports. Neither are we to imagine, according to some, that this word is used in the Plural because the Singular is wanting, for we may find it used even in that number in 12 *Job* 36. Nay further, you may observe that it is read with a Verb in the plural, or a plural adjunct at least, when it is not applied to God, as in 20 *Gen.* 13. and 23 *Jer.* 36. I think then we may best of all acquiesce in the judgment of those Learned Men who conclude that it is the way of the *Hebrews* to joyn sometimes a Noun plural with a Verb singular (as in the *Greek* Tongue Verbs singular are coupled with Nouns Newter in the plural number) and more especially *Elohim* is so used here, and is joyned with *Created*.

Of which Verb I have only this to say, that it is used in the Sacred Writ in a double sense, signifying 1. to produce out of nothing, simply and absolutely. 2. To make or bring to pass some great thing,

8 *An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1.*

worthy of the highest admiration : and such as can be wrought only by the power of a Deity. And therefore this word is never attributed to Man, but to God only ; of which difference and peculiarity I think the perusal of the Sacred Code will be the best Evidence. But I confess the *Septuagint* are not Critical, and observant of the *School*-notion of *Creation*, for the word they use is *ἐκ τῆς οὐκ*, which I suppose none will assert doth signify properly *to make of nothing* : besides that these *Seventy* *Seniors* do give the first Book of *Moses* the Title of *Γένεσις*, which is a large term, and denotes the Generation or Production of persons related in that History, and likewise the Production of things, but without any intimation of the manner. Though we cannot then from the mere force and propriety of this word *bara*, and the word *ἐκ τῆς οὐκ* conclude that God made all things of *Nothing*, because they are used largely in this Holy Book, yet by *Consequence* it is prov'd from this place that the World was made of *nothing*, for here we learn that this World had some *beginning*, it was not always, and therefore there was a time when it *was not* ; whence it undeniably follows, that when it came into being, it was produced of *Nothing*. And as for the very word it self, we are told by * one

* P. Fagius.

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 7

that is a competent Judge, that the *Hebrew* Tongue hath no other word but *bara* to signifie a Production out of Nothing, & he quotes an *Hebrew Rabbi* for it.

Pass we then unto the last words, *the Heaven and the Earth*, by which some understand that rude and confused *Chaos* or Primitive Matter out of which God afterwards framed and form'd all things, and is here Proleptically stiled *Heaven and Earth*. But (as I have suggested already) I rather look upon these words as a *General* and *brief* Account of the Creation, or Mundane Fabrick, as what follows is a *Particular* and *Larger* one. By the *Heaven* and *Earth* are meant the whole Compages of Bodies, the Catholick Mass of Matter and all its Elements. For the Establishing of which Exposition, I will only remind you of this, that the *Hebrews* for want of one single proper Word to express the *World* by, do it by these two, *Heaven* and *Earth*; and so indeed you will perceive that any *Totum* or Aggregate body is express'd by them after the same manner, viz. by enumerating its several parts and members. In the 96th *Psalme* you'll see that this Mundane System is set forth by an enumeration of its parts; first more generally the *Heavens* and *Earth*, (as here) v. 11. then more particularly *the Sea*, and all things contained in it, *the fields* and all that therein

8 *An Exercitation on* 1 Gen. 1.

therein is, the trees, v. 12. &c. Nay further, (to strengthen this notion) you read *the world to come* (of which this present one is but an Umbrage) expressed unto us in the same way in 2 *Pet.* 3. 13. *New Heavens and a new Earth.* Here then, as I said before, you have a View of the World at large, and in a more general draught, but afterwards in the Sequel of this Sacred History is to be expected the distinct and particular order of the Worlds formation. And therefore you may observe that *He Emphatick* is prefixt to these words in the Original, to intimate to us the peculiar import of these words in *this* place, whereas afterwards you read them (without any such addition) barely *Heaven and Earth.*

The Heaven is all that which Surrounds the Earth, for that word is here to be taken in the largest sense, although it doth usually signifie the Regions of the *Air*, frequently called by the *Greeks* *αἰθρῆ*, and so distinguished from the *Ethereal* part, which in the *Hebrew* hath its name from the thinness and subtilty of its substance, and is the Seat of the bright Luminaries of Heaven. And there is more than conjecture to countenance this Distinction, from 89 *Psal.* 37. as the Learned Dr. *Hammond* hath there observed. Although it must be acknowledged too that the word
in

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 9

in the Text (if you ransack its Original according to some) hints unto us that active, fluid, and agitated Matter which hath in it as 'twere the Seeds and Principles of Light, and so doth speak the sense of the *French* Philosopher. I shall not now Encounter with the *Aristotelian*, who says that his *Orbs* are included here, neither have I time to hear the Plea which the *Schools* make for their *Cælum Empyreum*. But with good reason I suppose the Celestial Mansions of the *Blessed* are to be taken within the verge of the Text. As for the other Division or Moiety of the Mundane System, *viz.* the *EARTH*, that too is a large term here, and besides the Water and Air, includes all Herbs, Plants, Minerals and Animals, and all that is found in the Water, or Air, or on the Earth, and in short, whatever is contain'd in this lower World.

The Heaven and Earth.] This baffles their Opinion who lately assert, that the *Mosaic Creation extends no further than the Earth*. It appears from this brief Abstract and Abridgment of the Creation, that the *Celestial Bodies* were a portion (and the largest) of that System which *Moses* hath here described. And this appears also from what is said afterwards in this Chapter concerning the Great *Expanse* or *Firmament* in which the *Luminaries* are.

When

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When it is said in the description of the fourth days work, that God *made two great Lights, and set them in the Firmament*, v. 16, 17. can any Man of sober thought imagine that the *making* and *setting* do not belong to the *same* days work, *i. e.* to the fourth? Is there any ground for this Conceit, that the Sun and Stars were *made before*, and only *now* placed in the Firmament, as the Author of the *new Theory of the Earth* avers? This is not much unlike the fancy of him who broach'd the *Præadamitic* Opinion, that the Creation of *Adam* describ'd in the second Chapter of *Genesis*, is different from the Creation of Man in the first Chapter. And indeed the *New Theorist* seems not only in this, but in other things to imitate that Bold Writer, as when he holds with him, that there are other Men and Women besides those which are descended from *Adam* and *Eve*. Nothing can be more evident than that those Luminaries were *made* and *set* in the Firmament on the same day, seeing both the *making* and *setting*, according to *Moses*, appertain to the same days Work.

Nor can that weak and sorry Evasion, namely, that the Sun, Moon and Stars are then said to be *made* when they become *visible* and *conspicuous*, induce any one to be perswaded of the contrary; for any
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An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 11

one may see that the Theorist is forced to that wild Exposition, because otherwise 'twas impossible to bring himself off. But surely none that bear a reverence to the Inspired Writings will defend this Interpretation, seeing it is inconsistent with the *Mosaic* History of the Creation, which particularly and distinctly sets down the Transaction of every days Work, whereas this New Exposition confounds them. *Let there be light*, v. 3. which according to this Expósito is the same with *let it appear*; and so light was not the product of the first day, but did exist before, and consequently according to this interpretation there was a first day of the Creation before the first. *Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters*, v. 6. that is, saith Mr. *Wh.* *let it appear*, but it was made before. This ought to be his Exposition, if he be consistent with himself. Wherefore if he allows the Firmament to be made on the second day of the Creation, as the plain History informs us, he shews that he clashes with himself, and that he doth not interpret places alike in this Chapter, though they are perfectly alike. Thus there is no imaginable reason why the *Fourth* days work should be otherwise understood than the rest, seeing they are expres'd alike. Since the rest are set down as matter of fact past, since

all

12 *An Exercitation on* 1 Gen. 1.

all along the Chapter speaks of things as really done, and particularly since the *making* and *setting* of Lights in the Firmament are set forth after the same manner, it is very unfair and unreasonable to interpret them in a different manner. And therefore when he seems to acknowledge that the other parts of the Chapter are to be taken and understood simply and plainly of matter of fact, he is self condemn'd whilst he makes an Exception as to that part which relates to the *Fourth* day.

This way of expounding is repugnant to the *Scope* and *Design* of the Chapter, which is to give an account of the six days works, that is, what was done on every one of those days. And moreover, it is repugnant to the *Stile* and *Phrase* of the whole Chapter, which expresses things in the *Præterperfect* Tense, and not in the *more than perfect* Tense, as he imagines. But especially, it is unbecoming an Expositor of the Holy Scriptures to represent the Penmen of them as persons who have a design to impose upon their Readers, which is the thing this Gentleman fixes upon *Moses*; for though the Sun and other Luminaries were not made on the fourth day, yet he bears us in hand that *Moses* makes the Jews believe that they were, or that something of that nature was done. And if you would know the
reason

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1: 13

reason of this, he acquaints you that this Writer accommodated himself to the Capacities of the rude and blockish People, who were to read the Book of *Genesis*, and were to be put off with such a Story or Tale as would best suit with their humour, and their dull conceits of things. Thus the Literal and Plain History of *Moses* is slighted and disregarded: thus the obvious and genuine sense of the Chapter (such as this Writer himself acknowledges in some parts of it) is laid aside, to give way to a strain'd meaning, and such as disagrees with other parts of the History, and (which is worst of all) derogates from the truth and faithfulness of the Sacred Penmen.

None shall persuade me that a person of correct thoughts and a severe regard to the Sacred Scriptures, will venture to expose *Moses* and his Text after this manner. Certainly this new knack of interpreting Scripture is the way to pervert all the other Truths of the Bible. I cannot but caution the Reader against entertaining such Writings as tend to the disparaging of the Inspired Authors of this Holy Book. It doth not become any to be thus bold with the Sacred Writ, and to abandon the plain sense of the words, merely to make them truckle to a fond Hypothesis of their own invention, and
to

14 *An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1.*

to comply with such an uncouth fancy as this, that *nothing but the Earth is the Subject of the Mosaic Creation*, notwithstanding the *Heaven and Earth* are made here the Contents of this first Chapter of *Genesis*; and the Creation of the *Heavens*, as well as of the *Earth*, is particularly and distinctly set down in the Chapter it self by this infallible Historian. But this is not minded by our resolute *Theorist*, and by others of his *genius*. They shew no respect to *Moses*, but treat him very indecently, (as if, because he was noted for a *Meek man* (which I have heretofore observ'd) they might deal with him as they please) they abuse his Writings, and distort the meaning of them, and under a pretence of erecting *New Theories*, null the plain History of the Creation. Certainly, if these Writers go on alter the rate they have begun, they will *Theorize* a great part of our Religion out of the World.

The Heaven and the Earth.] Where it is observable further, that *Moses* divides the whole World into these two, *Heaven and Earth*; whence we gather that this latter, the *Earth*, is no mean part of it, yea, that it is a very considerable one. For the known Laws of *Division* speak as much, and acquaint us that when the whole is distributed into two parts, the one of them must be in some respect as

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An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 15

considerable as the other. This is the Rule of *Dichotomy*. Whence I infer, that though the Earth be but a Spot in comparison of all the Celestial Bodies, yet it is such a Spot as is a principal part of the Mundane System. It must be so, or else this distribution of the Universe into *Heaven* and *Earth*, would be very idle and impertinent. The wise Governour of all things design'd this Terrestrial Globe for the noblest purposes, and particularly for the use of *Man*, for whose sake the Heavens themselves were made, and on whom the Angels of Heaven wait and attend. We cannot but see, and be convinc'd that the Sovereign Maker of the World intended the Earth for great and glorious Transactions, and that on some accounts (which I have particularly insisted on in another place) this part of the Universe is not inferior to the other, yea, that it far excels it. This is the true reason why *Moses* insists so much on the *Earth*, namely, because he knew that there are Peculiar Honors and Priviledges belonging to it, though it is not so vast and spacious as the Heavenly Bodies. It comes short of these as to its proportion and bulk, but its usefulness and worth make it parallel with them, and even vye with the Celestial Globe. This is very plain to any one that hath not taken up Hypo-

16 . *An Exercitation on* 1 Gen. 3.

theses of his own, and tinctur'd his Mind with prejudice and conceit.

Lastly, Seeing these first words of the Book of *Genesis* present us with the Doctrine of the *Nativity* of the World, and assure us that it did not exist from Eternity, but had a *beginning*, I will annex unto this first Essay the Grand *Epoche* of the World, or the particular Term of its Commencement. I will enquire into the Precise Time of laying the Foundation of this Noble Fabrick, of the erecting of this Stately Building, and see what Date it bears. *Moses* ascertains us that it *began*: now let us search *when it began*: And I start this Question, rather to upbraid the folly and curiosity of some persons, then to give a satisfactory Answer to it. For to what real use is it to know exactly at what punctual time the Creation had its date? Only by offering *somewhat* concerning this Query, we shall get our selves excused for the future from undertaking to satisfy the Scruples which some Overcurious men start about several Points of this nature.

First, It may be ask'd, how *many years* there have been since the Creation of the World? To which a different Answer is given according to the different *Computations* that have been made. For some follow the Accompt of the *Hebrew* Original, others

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 3. 17.

others that of the *Septuagint* about the Time from the *Creation* to *Abraham*. According to the former it is but 1940 years, according to the latter it is 3314 years, that is, more years by 1374 than the other. Whence must needs arise a great difference in computing the years of the World. Generally it runs thus. According to the *Hebrew* Chronology there have been since the *Creation* 5664 years: but according to the *Greek* Church about 7110, according to the *Roman* Church 6890, or thereabouts, according to the *Jewish* Rabbies 5410 or 5600, according to the younger *Vossius* above 7000. So that if you compare the highest and lowest Computations, there is a difference of fifteen or sixteen hundred years in the Chronology about the year of the World. And this must needs be, because of the great discrepancy as to the Computation of the Worlds age till *Christ's Birth*. The *Hebrews* generally reckon 3760, but *Josephus* particularly 4102. The *Christians* diversly fix this *Æra*: * those of the *Greek* Church following the *Septuagint*, number 5500 years: and the *Arabians* reckon somewhat higher. † Those of the *Latin* Church make the number of the years to be 5199. *Gassendus* makes the Computa-

* Origen, Clem. Alexand. Euseb. Epiphani, &c.

† Sulpit. Sever. Orosius, Bede, &c.

18 *An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1.*

tion of the World to be but 3950 years before our Saviour, or before the *Vulgar* or *Dionysian Epoche*, as 'tis call'd. *Usher* in his *Annals* thinks 4003 is the right number. In short, among twenty or thirty Chronologers, you'l scarcely find three that exactly agree in the number of the Years from the Creation to Christ's Birth. * *Sixtus Senensis* reckons 26 Computations, and 'tis likely he had not then consulted all: and since his time there have been some that have given in their particular Computations. Upon a serious Enquiry into this Controversie, those seem to me nearest to truth who place the *Epoche* between the Calculations of those two Excellent Chronologers last mentioned: but the exact Computation, and consequently the particular Year of the Age of the World is uncertain. As God would not have us know the punctual End and Period, so neither the precise Beginning of the World.

Yet notwithstanding the Determinate Year cannot be decided, some have been enquiring in *what part of the year* the World began. It was created in the Spring say the florid Poets; of this mind was the Great Father of them,

† *Non alios primâ nascentis origine mundi
Illuxisse dies, aliûmve habuisse tenorem*

* Biblioth. l. 5.

† Virg. Georg. 2.

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 19

Crediderim. Ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat Orbis. ———

This was the Opinion of *Astronomers* generally, and accordingly they reckon'd the Sign of *Aries* to be the beginning and head of the rest of the Signs in the Zodiack, and they deduce all their Calculations from this. The *Ancient Hebrews* also beginning the Year about the Vernal Equinox, hold the World was created at that time. Some of the *Christian Fathers* assert it, as *Ensebius*, *Athanasius*, *Cyril*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Isidore*. Yea, *Bede* makes mention of a Synod held in *Palestine* by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, in which was agreed that the World was made in the Spring. It was *Luther's* conceit that this was the time of the Worlds Creation, and moreover, he adds that its Period will be at the same season of the year. Some *Modern Philosophers* also, among whom *Julius Scaliger* is the chief, hold the World was made at the Suns entrance into *Aries*, and they give this reason, because Natures Revolutions begin there.

But others tell us that the *Summer Season* was the Worlds beginning, at which time the Sun entred *Cancer* or *Leo*. *Mercator* is of this opinion, and labours to make it good: but the Arguments which

20 *An Execcitation on 1 Gen. 1.*

he uses are very odd and fantastical. A third sort of Writers would perswade us that the Creation of the World was in *Autumn*, when the Sun was in *Libra*, for then all fruits generally are ripe, and are in their perfection. Therefore the *Arabians* and *Egyptians* thought this to be the time of the Worlds nativity. This likewise was the opinion of *Theodoret*, and *Bede*; and of the *Jewish Rabbies*, who follow *Josephus* in this. *Calvisius*, as may be gathered from his *Computations*, seems to grant the Worlds beginning in the *Autumnal Equinox*: and *Joseph Scaliger* doth so too, abandoning his Father's Sentiment, as he doth in several other things. And even *Helvicus* (who holds it indifferent when the World is asserted to begin) when he speaks of the *Æra mundi conditi*, acquaints us that his *Chronological Tables* take their rise (according to the younger *Scaliger's* judgment) from the *Autumn*, particularly from the month of *October*. And so *Petavius* commences his Compute from *Autumn*. Our Learned *Usher* also complies with this Vulgar notion, and very nicely tells us, the World was created on the 23th of *October*. But Mr. * *H. Broughton* is somewhat fantastick (you will say) in delivering his opinion of the

* View of the Holy Scripture.

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 21

Time of the Creation : for he avoucheth that *Adam* was formed in *September* at the fall of the leaf, that being the fittest time to express the nature of his Fall and Apostacy. The *Muscovites* (as a late Writer tells us) begin their Year on the first day of *September*, taking their *Epoche* from the Creation of the World, which they believe was in *Autumn*. Thus those three distinct Quarters of the Year have been chosen by different men for the *Epoche* of the Worlds Creation. But the *Winter* is rejected by all : as if they thought that was too Cold a time for the World to peep out in. I never read of any that believed that Season to be the beginning of the World, though (as you shall be satisfied anon) there had been as much reason to assign this part of the year as any other.

You see how the Learned are divided in their enquiries into the particular Season when the World was erected. It is a wonder that they should not see the folly of such a search, for certainly (to speak impartially) it is a ridiculous question to ask in what quarter of the year, or in what point of the Zodiack the World had its first rise. For if we discourse precisely of the Beginning, that is, the first days of the Creation, it is evident from the account which *Moses* gives of them, that the *Solar*

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Body was not created or placed in the Upper Firmament till the fourth day, and consequently it is idle to talk of the *Suns* entering into this or that particular Cardinal Point at that time. But if we speak of the Creation in general (without confining it to the very first entrance of it) we must (if we will speak properly) say, it began in all the four Quarters, and in all the Points of the Heavens. This cannot be denied, if we consider that the Seasons of the year are defined and distinguish'd by the *Suns* motion, *i. e.* its approach to such parts of the Earth, and its recess from them: or (as you may otherwise express it) the Earths approach or recess from the Sun. Therefore if we respect the World, *i. e.* all the parts and divisions of it, we must assert that God made it neither in Spring, Summer, Autumn, or Winter, but in all these.

This is very clear to any one that understands the nature of the Mundane Fabrick, and particularly the Positions of the Heavens. Seeing these Seasons are different in several places, it is impossible that *One Season* should be Universal, that is, all the World over at once: which yet those who talk of the Worlds beginning in such a *particular season*, hold to be possible. This then is the exact truth, that the World was created in Autumn in respect

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 23

respect of some places of it, in Winter in respect of others, and in Spring and Summer as to other Parts and Regions of it. For this necessarily happens according to the different situation of the Earth, and the different interfections of the Zodiack. Whence it appears that it is as reasonable to assert the *Winter Solstice* to be the Time when the World began, as any of the *Other Seasons* that are usually assign'd.

But let us see whether the former Opinions may not be reconcil'd among themselves, and also with what I have propounded. We are to consider then that though the World could not be created in Autumn, or any other particular Quarter, as to *every part of it*, (for the Seasons alter according to the Climates, and at the same time that there is Autumn in one place there is a Winter in another, &c.) yet its beginning was in some certain Quarter *as to a particular part of it*) viz. as to that part where *Adam* was formed, or that Climate where *Moses* was who writ the History of the Creation. If the Query then be put as to a Particular Horizon, as suppose the place where *Adam* was created, the Answer may be, that it is probable the World began in an *Equinoctial Point*, and most likely in the *Spring*, as *J. Scaliger* and *Mr. Gregory* think. This is certain that the Sun must have begun his course,

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course, and set out from one particular place, one *Sign* or other, and 'tis probable *Aries* was it : Therefore we may, if we please, candidly interpret the Opinions of the abovesaid Learned Writers, understanding them (or some of them at least) to have regard to some *particular place*, and not the World in general, though truly their words seem to be meant generally. Or if they are not capable of this fair interpretation, let us understand them as speaking not as the thing really was, but only as they had a mind to pitch on some One Quarter, and to fix their *Epoche's* and Calculations. Thence * Mr. *Gregory* saith it is not unnecessary among Chronologers to define as 'twere the Time of the Year when the World began, that the $\pi\eta\zeta\iota\varsigma$ (as 'tis therefore call'd) may be fixed to some certain time, for making the Accompts more regular and sure. It is all one, *Helvicus* confesses, in what Month you place the *Æra* of the World: but for the better ordering of Chronological Calculations, it is requisite that some certain Term be assigned.

I could add, that as the *Season of the Year*, so the *Day of the Month* when the World began, hath been enquired into by Curious Spirits, (though, there being lit-

* De *Æris* & *Epochis*.

An Exercitation on 1 Gen. 1. 25

the reason for the former Enquiry, they might have thought there is less for this.) Those that hold the World began in *Autumn* assert that the Twenty fifth of *September* was the day. And I remember to have read somewhere in the *Conimbricensis* on *Aristotle about the World*, that they magisterially define the day to be the same on which Christ rose from the dead. So *Eusebius* and some other Fathers asserted the Creation to begin on the 25th of *March*, the day of Christ's Resurrection. *Bede* and some others fix it on the 18th of this Month. But neither this nor that is said without any shew of proof at all. There is no ground to believe any Writers in their Critical Decision of the Day of the Month: for there was no one particular Day of the whole Creation, seeing we are assured that it took up six days. And if you speak of that only on which part of the Creation was finish'd, it may be truly said, that to limit the Worlds Creation to any certain day of the Month, unless we were taught it by some Authentick Instructor, is an unwarrantable Presumption. And so I dismiss these Trifles (though met with in very grave Authors) about the precise Time of the Worlds origination.

EXER.

EXERCITATION II.

The Flood Universal.

7 GEN. 19.

And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the Earth : and all the high hills, that were under the whole Heaven, were covered.

IT hath been disputed among the Learned, whether the Deluge in *Noah's* time was universal, and prevail'd over the whole Earth, or only spread it self over that particular Region and Country where *Noah* inhabited. But I conceive that this Remarkable passage of Scripture which I have now propounded, fully decides the

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An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19. 27

Controversie, and renders it an unquestionable Verity that the Deluge was over all the World. For 'tis not to be doubted that by *Earth* here we are to understand the whole surface and extent of it. For though 'tis not to be denied, that in one or two places the *whole Earth* is to be restrain'd to a particular Country, as in 2 Sam. 18.8. because there the subject matter it self compels us to understand it with a Restriction; for when 'tis said, *the battle was there scattered over the face of* (col haaretz) *all the land, or earth*, these latter words must needs be confined to a particular Country, (and accordingly our Translators render it *all the Country*) because the History acquaints us that the place where that Fight was, was *Judea*, and but a particular part of it. But where there is mention of the *Earth* absolutely and alone, without any necessary reference to some peculiar Region of the World, as in innumerable Texts of Scripture, and much more where *the whole Earth* or *all the Earth* occurs, as in 21 Luke 35. and 23. 44. it is most reasonable to conclude that the *Earth* in general, that is, all the parts and regions of it are to be understood.

So without doubt it is in the present case, when the Infallible Historian tells us, that *the waters prevailed exceedingly upon*

28 *An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19.*

upon the Earth, his meaning is that the Deluge was Universal, and laid the whole Earth under water : which is call'd a *destroying of the Earth*, 6 Gen. 13. and 9.11. This is to be look'd upon as the true sense of the word, because there is here no ground or occasion at all to restrain it, and to take it in a limited signification. For this reason both here and in many other Texts *the Earth* is to be taken in the largest sense, and it is not in our power to do otherwise. If we should attempt it, and take liberty to restrain the word *Earth* when we please, we may interpret *the Heaven and the Earth*, in the beginning of *Genesis*, concerning the *Land of Assyria or Mesopotamia* only, and that part of the Heavens which is over these places ; which is very absurd and ridiculous. And especially it would be so to refer *the Earth* here to a part of it only, seeing 'tis evident that *Moses* is not confining himself in this place, to one particular Climate or Country.

To corroborate this Text, I desire that these words of God to *Noah*, after the Deluge was over, may be impartially considered, *Neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of the flood : neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth*, 9 Gen. 11. whence it may rationally and solidly be inferr'd, that by
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An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19: 29

the Earth is meant the whole Surface of this lower World : for if you take it otherwise, that is, for a Part or Region of the Terrestrial Globe, then it will follow that this Covenant of God with *Noah* and his Posterity hath been violated, for there have been *Floods* in several places since that Great Deluge, that have destroy'd particular Countries, and overwhelm'd whole Regions. Wherefore we must be forced to acknowledge, that by *the Earth* is meant the whole Surface of it, and that the Deluge in *Noah's* days diffused it self into all parts of the World. So that the Universality of that Inundation is undeniably proved from the foregoing Texts; and we can no longer doubt whether this latter be meant of the whole inhabited Earth, and all Mankind, and the whole race of other Creatures.

And then if we weigh what follows in the place that is before us, namely, that *all the high hills which were under the whole Heaven, were covered*, we cannot possibly question the truth of it. For no sensible Man can imagine that this could happen, *i. e.* that the highest Mountains in the World, which according to the lowest Calculation are about two Miles in height, in a direct perpendicular Ascent, (as Sir *W. Raleigh*, *Isaac Vossius*,

30 *An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19.*

sus, Varenius, and others have resolved) were overwhelm'd with Water, and yet that only one part of the Earth was drown'd. There must be a Miracle to effect this, which yet we have no occasion at all to fly to. But indeed the Text it self will prevent any such thought, seeing it is so plainly and positively asserted, that the highest parts of the Earth *under the whole Heaven* were overspread with the Flood. *The whole Heaven* compasses the whole frame of *the whole Earth* and consequently where-ever there were the Heavens to be seen above, there likewise was the Earth beneath overflowed with Water. There could not be words and expressions more nicely framed to set forth the *Universal Extent* of the Flood than those which *Moses* makes use of: *the Earth* it self and *the whole Heaven* can import no less. For *the Earth* absolutely put denotes all the Regions of the Earth and what is said to be *under the whole Heaven*, is certainly spread over all the Earth, which is under it. Therefore we conclude that the Waters of that mighty *Cataclysm* in *Noah's* days was over all the parts of the Earth.

And that this is the true meaning of the Text, is further proved from the words which we meet with presently after, *v. 21. And all flesh died that moved*
upon

An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19. 31

upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattel, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man. Where 'tis observeable that Moses insists much upon the destruction of all other Animals, as well as Men, to let us know that the Flood reached to all those places where there were any Animals, as much as to say, all places, for they being an useful part of the Creation, were spread over the whole Earth. But lest this Universal Destruction of all Creatures caused by the Flood should be call'd in question at any time, the Inspir'd Penman confirms it in other words, v. 22. All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. Nay 'tis worth observing that this universal slaughter of all living Creatures, not only of Men, but Brutes, is a third time repeated, v. 23. And every living substance was destroy'd which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattel, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven, and they were destroy'd from the earth. Which remarkable Reiteration of the same thing shews it to be of great importance; and so truly it is, and accordingly we shall make use of it, and thence gather the Certainty of what we have been discoursing of, to wit, the Universality of the Flood. If all flesh
D *died*

32 *An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19.*

died that moved on the earth ; if all in whose nostrils was the breath of life, if all that was on the dry land, died ; if every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, (which without doubt was the occasion of that Command given by God to Noah, to take of all kind of beasts, and birds, and creeping things into the Ark with him, to be a Recruit after the General Desolation) then they died in every Part and Region of the Earth, and thence it necessarily follows, that the Deluge, by which they died, was over the whole Earth, and not in one Country only.

I know this is opposed by a very * Great Man, who tells us that this proves not the Universality of the Flood, as to all the parts of the World, because the Flood reached the Brute Animals no further than where there were Men, for the Beasts were destroyed for the sake of Men : and therefore where there were no Men, there the Beasts were not destroyed. But I conceive that this is said without proof, for there is reason rather to believe that all Animals over the whole Earth felt the fury of the Deluge. It being expressed by *Moses* in such Catholick and Comprehensive Terms, we ought not to limit the

* Bp. *Stillingsfleet* Orig. Sac. Book 3. chap. 4.

An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19. 33

sense of the words. Besides, all Animals were made for the service of Men, and therefore we may gather that where these were, there also Men inhabited. And seeing in the foregoing Texts both *Men* and *other Creatures* are so particularly mentioned together, when the Flood is spoken of, we have reason to believe that where there were the latter, there also were the former.

But saith this Learned Writer, "the
" Flood could not be Universal as to the
" Globe of the Earth, because the whole
" Earth was not peopled before the
" Flood : yea, the peopling of the whole
" Continent of *Asia* is as much as we may
" in reason suppose. And he adds, " that
" he despairs of ever seeing it proved that
" more was inhabited. But it is certain
he doth not prove the contrary, and
scarcely attempts it. Nor doth that other
* Eminent Man evince what he saith, when
he confidently tells us, that " we are not
" to imagine that the whole Globe of the
" Earth was covered with water : for
" what need was there of drowning those
" Regions where there were no
" Men ? It is foolish to think that Man-
" kind was so multiplied before the
" Flood, that they inhabited all parts of

* Isaac. Voss. de *Ætate mundi*.

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“ the Earth, whereas perhaps they did not
 “ exceed the bounds of *Syria* and *Mesopo-*
 “ *tamia*. Thus he. But this, and what
 the other Learned Writer said (which is
 of the same strain) is easily refuted by
 making good the opposite Opinion, name-
 ly, that the Earth was full of People, and
 universally inhabited before the Flood.
 This may necessarily be inferr’d from the
Age of the World at that time, which is
 agreed to be of above sixteen hundred
 years duration. By reason of which large
 Extent of Time from the Creation to the
 Deluge, there could not but be a vast
 Increase of Mankind. Yea, this Increase
 was at least five or six times more then
 what hath been since, in a much longer
 space of time, if you consider the Long
 Lives of the Antediluvian People, which
 must needs conduce to the vast Multipli-
 cation of Mankind. But especially, if
 we consider that those People before the
 Deluge were exceeding strong and hale,
 and of great vigor, and (which is above
 all that hath been said) many of them
 indulged Polygamy, and thereby added
 abundantly to the stock of Mankind.
 Whereupon the Plantations were early
 and many, the Colonies numerous, and
 the peopling of Nations very common,
 and consequently the whole Earth was
 inhabited before the Flood. Further, this
 appears

An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19. 35

appears from those effectual words of the Almighty in the Creation, when he blessed Mankind; and said, *Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth*, 1 Gen. 28. Where there is a notable Climax: for the Divine Promise and Benediction is that the Antediluvian Race of *Adam* should not only be *fruitful*, *i. e.* successful in generation, but should *multiply*, *i. e.* have a very Numerous off-spring, and likewise should *replenish the earth*, *i. e.* multiply so fast as to fill all the Earth with Inhabitants.

This, I think, fully proves that the World was thoroughly peopled before the Deluge, even in the remotest parts of it, yea and of the opposite part of the Globe, now called the *West Indies*, and not in the Continent of *Asia* only, or merely *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. To confirm this I might produce the Testimony of Prophane Writers, and the Consent of the Ancient Fathers of the Christian Church, and several Passages and Circumstances in the Sacred History which render this very probable. So that it is no such *desperate* undertaking as was fancied, to make good this Assertion; nor is it any *foolish thought* (as some over-weening Men have imagin'd) that Mankind spread themselves over the whole face of the Earth. Beside what hath been now said for it, this sufficiently

D 3

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ficiently appears from the Account that is given of the Deluge, namely, that it *prevailed upon the earth*, and was *under the whole heaven*, for (as Sir W. Raleigh and Dr. Heylin solidly argue) if all the World, signified by these words, *the earth* and whatever was *under the whole heaven*, then questionless there were People in all the World that offended, and provoked God to send the Flood.

I think I need not stay to answer a late *Objection* against the Universality of the Deluge, to wit, that there was not Water enough to drown the whole Earth. Those that raise this Scruple do not consider that Heaven and Earth, the Air and Sea were all concern'd in punishing the Old World. The first contributed to it by the dissolution of the Clouds, and their falling down in Rain. The second promoted it by the Evacuation of its Springs and of the Great Abyfs, called *the fountains of the great deep*, 7 Gen. 11. The third effected it by the condensing of the whole mass of Air. And the last accomplish'd it by breaking in with irresistible force upon the Land. Thus there was a possibility of Water enough to drown the whole Earth, yea the highest Mountains, as the Learned * Knight

* History of the World, Book 1. Chap. 7.

An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19. 37

and Reverend * Prelate before mention'd have with great judgment determin'd. For this latter doth not deny the possibility of an Universal Flood, but only thinks there was no need of it, because the Earth was, according to him, not every where peopled. But I have removed the foundations of that Opinion, and have established the contrary, and hence have proved that the whole Superficies of the Earth was overspread with water, and that all the World was Ocean, as it was at first.

In farther answer to the foremention'd *Objection*, I desire the Reader to peruse what *Seneca* has said in his *Natural Questions*, Book 3. Chapters 27, 28, 29. when he excellently and profoundly discourses of the *Natural Causes of a Deluge*, and hath strange and unexpected strokes about this matter. One would think it had been writ before *Noah's Flood*, and were a Prediction of it, there are so many express Circumstances of that thing. Or else we might be apt to think that *Seneca* had read the History of that Flood written by *Moses*, and had copied out thence several particular Passages. Sometimes he seems to speak in the very stile and words

* Orig. Sac. Book 3. Chap. 4.

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of that Inspired Author, and we may observe that he mentions the *Restauration* of Mankind after the Deluge, and the too sudden *Degeneracy* which followed it. Yea, though this Writer undertakes only to give an account of the Natural Causes of a Deluge, and to shew how all things concur in the nature of things for the destruction of Mankind on such an occasion, yet he seems to approve himself a better Divine than the *Objector*, for he questions not the Sufficiency of Water for such a purpose, when God or Nature shall determine such a fatal Change. These are some of his admirable words, *Ita est, nihil difficile est Naturæ, utique ubi in finem sui properat.—— Quicquid ex hoc statu rerum Natura flexerit, in exitium mortalium satis est. Ergo cum affluerit illa necessitas temporis, multa simul fata causas movent, nec sine Concussione mundi tanta mutatio est.* And more to the same purpose may be seen in the same place. Which brings to my thoughts that Lively and Graphical Description of the Terrible Deluge in *Noah's* days which the Incomparable *Dr. Woodward* hath presented to the World, and hath more then once expressed by that term *Concussion*.

But what I met with afterwards in the same place in *Seneca*, did much more remind

An Exercitation on ¹²⁴ *7 Gen. 19. 39*

mind me of what the Learned Dr. hath communicated to the Public, for among the several Causes of an Universal Deluge, in those *Natural Questions*, the *Dissolution of the Earth into Water* is reckon'd as one, which is deliver'd in these remarkable words, *Maximam causam, ad se inundandam, Terra ipsa præstabit, quam diximus esse mutabilem, & solvi in humorem.*— *Incipiet ergo terra putrescere, dehinc laxata ire in humorem, & assiduâ tabe defluere. Tunc exilient sub montibus flumina, ipsosque impetu quatient. Solum omne aquas reddet, summi scaturient montes, &c.* I need transcribe no more (though all the rest that follows is very Notable) this which I have set down is sufficient to shew that our Learned Naturalist hath that Great Man *Seneca* on his side, and that the *Dissolution of the Earth* was no Unphilosophical Thought. And now most certainly it is not, since this Excellent Author hath lately undertaken the Demonstration of it.

However, this is undeniable, that the Truth of the *Universality* of the Deluge in *Noah's* time (which is the business I am concern'd in at present) is clearly demonstrated by him in that Learned *Essay of the Natural History of the Earth*, where with the most surprizing depth of Reason,
and

and the most sensible Experiments and Observations, he establishes the truth of the *Mosaic* Narration concerning the Deluge, that is, that the whole Terrestrial Globe was overwhelm'd with it. It was no Man's lot before to light upon so Pregnant and Visible an Argument of the Universality of this Inundation, namely, from the *Structure and Composition of this present Earth*, which is found to be form'd out of a promiscuous Mass of Sand, Shells, Earth, Stone, and all other Fossils caused by the General Deluge. In all Countries and Regions of the Earth, these Shells and other Marine Bodies are lodg'd in all sorts of Earth, Stone, Chalk, &c. In all Countries the Earthly Matter is disposed into *Strata* or *Layers*, placed in the same order in all the parts of the World : and they are ranged one upon another in the same way that any Earthly Sediment, subsiding from a Fluid in great quantity, would naturally be. And those Shells, together with Teeth and Bones, and other parts of Fishes, are at this day found disposed in those *Strata* according to the exact order of their Gravity ; those which are heaviest, lying deepest in the Earth ; and those that are of a lighter kind, being lodged nearer to the Surface,

Now,

An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19. 41

Now, all this is from the *Deluge*, for by it these Marine Bodies were driven out of the Seas, and upon the return of the Water back again from off the Earth, they were left behind at Land. Though they came from the Sea, yet they were carried to, and remain'd in several parts where there was no such thing as Sea. This is the apparent product of the *Deluge*, and can be referr'd to nothing else; especially if we take these Shells with that sulphureous, or flinty, or other kind of Matter which is found in some of them, and could not have been conveyed into them but when it was fluid. So that this is a plain and unanswerable evi-
dence of the general Dissolution and Dis-
ipation of Bodies at the Deluge.

And these are an Argument of the Waters spreading themselves into all parts of the Earth, and consequently of the Universal Extent of the Deluge. Which any Man must needs grant, if he considers that these things before-mentioned are found not only in *Europe* and *Asia*, but in *Africa* and *America*, and that they are frequently met with in the very tops of the highest Mountains, and in all Regions of the known World. This is ample E-
vidence that the *Whole Earth* was laid un-
der water, that every part of the Globe
felt

42 *An Exercitation on 7 Gen 19.*

felt the influence of *Noah's Deluge*, and that it is not to be restrain'd to one single Country. And as to the Objection above-mention'd of Dr. B. that there was not Water enough to cause an Universal Inundation, Dr. *Woodward* hath most satisfactorily answered that, and makes it clear that the *Great Abyss* affords water sufficient to drown the whole Terrestrial Globe. And several other things, which seem to contain some difficulty in them, this *Experienced Naturalist* solves with great ease and perspicuity. I know there have been some Attempts of this Nature before, but I never saw any thing that so visibly, so palpably, and, I may say, so irresistibly, demonstrates the Points intended, and more especially the *Universality of Noah's Flood*, and that not only as to the Regions of the World (which is the matter I have been insisting upon) but as to the Creatures and Animals then in being. For whereas the generality of Writers have thought that the Waters of the Flood were favourable to Fishes, and that these were safe when all other Creatures perished, he dooms this for a Vulgar Error, and shews that the General shock and concussion of the Deluge was destructive to them as well as other Animals. Nor do I think that, if his Opin-

nion

An Exercitation on 7 Gen. 19. 43

ion were ask'd, he would favour the
Conceit of those Fabulous *Jews*, who lay
Metuselah and the Great *Ogg* on the top
of *Noah's Ark* all the time of the Flood,
and there preserve them in safety, not
considering that they might easily be
wash'd off by the furious *Cataracts* from
above, which were part of the Terrible
Deluge.

EXER-

EXERCITATION III.

**How it was lawful for the
Israelites to spoil the Egyptians?**

3 E X O D. 22.

Ye shall spoil the Egyptians.

T*hou shalt not steal*, is a known Commandment of the Moral Law, and delivered by God himself, and requires nothing of us but what is intrinsically Good, for every part of the Moral Law is of that Nature. Consequently, *to steal* is an act that hath intrinsic evil and turpitude in it. But then, if this be true (as most certain it is) how comes Stealing or Theft to have God's approbation and palveage? As in the present case, the *Israelites* spoild and robb'd the *Egyptians*,
and

An Exercitation on 3 Exod. 22. 45

and that by the Command of God. How
then is *Theft*, which is forbid by the Mo-
ral Law, a Sin in it self? I answer, that
All Taking away what is anothers is not
stealing or *Theft*: but an *Injurious* Taking
away, and doing it *without Right*, i.e. ei-
ther without the Owner's Consent, or
without the Authority and Warrant of a
superiour Power, is properly *Theft*.
Whence we may gather that God may take
away any Man's goods: for he is the
Principal Owner and the Supreme Lord
of all. This is clear, because if God may
take away a Man's *Life*, he may take away
his *Goods* (These being lesser than That:)
and that he can do the former is evident
from his commanding *Abraham* to offer
up his Son *Isaac*; and therefore he may
do the latter, and it is no *Theft*, as the
other was no *Murder*. And though a
Man cannot by his Own Authority take
away goods from the Owner, if the Own-
er gives not Consent, (for this is contrary
to the Law of Nature and Right Reason)
yet the Supreme Lord and Owner of all
can deprive any person of what he hath
without his Consent: for the Right and
Title to these things was given to Men
by God, and he did not give it to them
with a Promise not to take it from them.
Therefore he can Remand the Things
which he gave, and he (as Sovereign Lord
and

46 *An Exercitation on 3 Exod. 22.*

and Disposer) can transfer the Right and Property to who he pleaseth. Riches and Worldly Substance (as the Jewish Masters express it) are only a * *Depositum* in the hands of Men, left with them by God and he can justly Call for it when he thinks fit. Thus, though the *Israelites* could not spoil the *Egyptians* of their goods without Special Command from God, yet when God pleas'd to Call for this *Depositum*, and to give the *Israelites* Commission to Take it from those who made ill use of it, it was Lawful for them to do it. We may then interpret the words thus, *Ye shall spoil the Egyptians* that is, by virtue of my Command and Order ye shall Spoil them. Here was the singular hand of God, who thought fit to bestow upon the *Israelites* the Jewels which were in possession of the *Egyptians*; and this Donation was a good Title. Here then is no *Theft*, no *Robbery* and therefore the above-mentioned Objection is nothing to the purpose.

To prove this yet further, consider in the next place that the *Israelites* might justly and lawfully make a Prey of the *Egyptians*, because

1. The *Egyptians* owed their very Lives to them, on the account of *Joseph's* Pre

* *Pecunia sunt tanquam Depositum in manu hominis.* Prov. Jud.

An Exercitation on 3 Exod. 22. 47

serving them, by his Prophetick foresight of the Famine that afterwards happen'd in *Egypt*, and by making early Provision against it. Thus they became Debtors to the *Israelites*, and therefore these might well expect that they should make Payment: which because they Refused, the *Israelites* in this forced Case might satisfie themselves by stripping them of their Jewels.

2. It was Lawful, because they did but take what was Due to them for their long and tedious serving the *Egyptians*. * *Epiphanius* solves the spoiling of that People thus, It was just that the *Israelites* should be recompensed for their sore and grievous Labours. So *Tertullian* tells us, that their spoiling the *Egyptians* was not Rapine, but the † Wages due to them for their labour. Accordingly another of the Ancients tells us that the things they borrowed of them were but || the Wages for the service they did, and of the pains they took in making Brick; or (or as an Other) of their * labour in building their Walls and Cities, and even their Pyramids, as some think. So then the

* In Ancorato. † *Mercedes operaria servitutis, pro laterinis deductis, pro civitatibus & villis adificatis.* Cont. Marcion. lib. 2. cap. 20. || *μεσδς τῆς δουλείας καὶ τῆς ἀλαβείας.* Greg. Naz. Orat. 42. * ὁ μεσδς τῆς οἰκοδομῆς. Chrysost. hom. 20. in Epist. ad Hebr.

48 *An Exercitation on 3 Exod. 22.*

Israelites did not rob the *Egyptians*, for what they took from them was their *Due*. This was their Case: the *Egyptians* had enriched themselves with *their* Labours, they had defrauded them of their just Hire: now therefore the *Israelites* might justly Pay themselves at their departure. Nothing is more reasonable than this.

3. The *Israelites* made a Prey of this People, that thereby they might be Satisfied in some measure for the many *Injuries* they received in the time of their Serving the *Egyptians*. For they were not only defrauded of their Hire, but they were abused, evilly intreated, and persecuted, as their Learned Country-man * *Philo* relateth. There was just Cause why God should take those things from the *Egyptians*, and give them to the *Israelites*, to make them Amends for the Cruelty and Tyranny of the *Egyptians* which they underwent. This is founded in Reason and Natural Equity. And *Irenaeus* in his Fourth Book against Heresies, Chap. 49. resolves the Spoiling of the *Egyptians* into this.

4. Another of the Ancient Writers of the Church assigns this account of the spoiling of the *Egyptians*, viz. that they being open and professed Enemies of the

* *De vitâ Mosis. Lib. I.*

An Exercitation on 3 Exod. 22. 49

Jews, and such as were declared so by God, the *Jews* might lawfully deal thus with them: this is allowable towards those that are of that nature, that is, declared *Enemies*. So *Clement of Alexandria*, *Strom. l. i.* They might as lawfully take away their Gold and Silver as they did afterwards their Weapons, when they found them dead on the Sea-shore, cast up thither by the violence of the Waves, and stript them of their Armour; with which they fought the *Amalekites* and other *Enemies* afterwards. The taking from them their Ornaments of Silver and Gold, was lawful *Plunder*. This was to be look'd upon as *Military Spoils* and *Booty*.

5. It is probable that some of these Riches, yea a great part of them, had been before taken away by the *Egyptians* from the People of *Israel*; if not from those very persons who were then at that time, yet from their Ancestors, who brought great Riches with them into *Egypt* out of *Canaan*, and who whilst *Joseph* lived, gathered up a considerable deal of Wealth, and had at his death bequeathed unto them rich Furniture and precious Goods, Money, Plate, Rings (with which they afterwards made the Golden Calf, and some of them they contributed towards the making of the Tabernacle, and fur-

50 *An Exercitation on 3 Exod. 22.*

nishing it) all which are comprehended under *the vessels of silver and the vessels of gold.* These the *Israelites* as it were in way of *Reprisal* took from the *Egyptians*, as *these* had formerly taken them from *them.* This the Law of Nations pronounces lawful. And this is something like the Law of *Retaliation*, and therefore it is granted to the *Jews* thus to deal with their Adversaries, 39 *Ezek. 10.* *They shall spoil those that spoiled them.*

6. I would suggest this, and the rather because I find it not taken notice of or mention'd by any, *viz.* that their bringing away of the *Egyptians* Gold and Silver, was but in Exchange for the Goods and Vessels of considerable bigness and weight which they left behind them. In so many thousand Families there was a great deal of Goods, Furniture, Utensils, and Vessels for several sorts of purposes, which they did not bring away with them, for they took nothing but what they could carry about them, and *bind up in their clothes upon their shoulders*, 12 *Exod. 34.* They had no Wagons or Carts, or Horses to convey those things which were burdensom. Their Baggage could not be great, because they had no Carriages for them. They made bold therefore to change those things with the *Egyptians* for lighter ones, as Money, Plate, Rings,

An Exercitation on 3 Exod. 22. 51

Rings, Jewels, and Ornaments which were easily portable, and which it is likely exceeded not the value of those Goods they left behind them. Here was an honest Commutation or Bartering, which was the old way of Traffick. Therefore here was no wrong done them; Changing is no Robbery.

7. I may add this to what hath been said, that by a *Post-fact* this action of the *Israelites* became lawful; for the *Egyptians*, after they had given leave to them to go out of *Egypt*, pursued them with an intention to kill and destroy them. Which base and barbarous dealing with them made the *Israelites* their actual Enemies, as well as the *Egyptians* were theirs, and thereupon they had right to detain what was lent them before: for they were not obliged to furnish their Enemies with Conveniencies. Seeing the *Egyptians* came with a design to spoil, yea to kill them, (and perhaps the *Israelites* foresaw that they intended to do this, when they were departing from that Country) they might lawfully treat them in this manner, with regard to their hostile and cruel designs. But perhaps this may fall in more properly under the Fourth Particular.

But lastly, there is another way of giving Satisfaction to the most scrupulous Enquirers about the Lawfulness of the

52 *An Exercitation on 3 Exod. 22.*

Israelites spoiling the Egyptians. If we consult the Texts that make mention of it, we shall find that it was with the Will and Consent of the *Egyptians* that this was done, and consequently that it was no unlawful and injurious act. We may observe that when this thing was first foretold by God, he promised that he would *give that people favour in the sight of the Egyptians*, so that when they were to go, they should *not go empty*, 3 *Exod. 21.* And afterwards, when the thing it self was to be accomplish'd, we read that the Lord *gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians*, 11 *Exod. 3.* And the very same is said again, upon the actual fulfilling of it, 12 *Exod. 36.* Which confirms us in this belief, that God enclined the hearts of the *Egyptians* to shew kindness to his People, and upon their asking and desiring to let them have those Jewels of Silver and Gold. Thence it is observable, that in 3 *Exod. 22.* and 11.2. and 12.35. the People of *Israel* are said to *borrow* these Jewels of the *Egyptians*, or (as the Hebrew word *shaal* signifies) *to ask* them of them: and the *Egyptians* are said to *lend* them, that is, freely to grant them upon *asking*, for you will find that it is the same Verb in the Original in both Places, only in the Conjugation *Hipbel* the word *shaal* signifies *lending*. Hence we see that the

An Exercitation on 3 *Exod* 22. 53

the *Israelites* were not guilty of *Theft*, though they are said to spoil the *Egyptians*, for these latter voluntarily parted with their Silver and Gold and Raiment, God so disposing their hearts, and making them become favourable to the *Israelites*. Which I find taken notice of by the Learned Jewish Historian (*Joseph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 5.*) who tells us that the *Egyptians* honoured the *Hebrews* with Gifts on account of that familiarity and conversation which had been between them as Neighbours.

Thus we see that upon these several and various Considerations there was no Violation of the Law of Nature here; God did not (as Bp. Taylor thinks) Dispense with that Commandment, *Thou shalt not steal*. For here was no *Stealing* properly so call'd, and consequently here was no Intrinsic Evil and Turpitude in spoiling the *Egyptians* of their Goods. But still there is and ever will be an Inseperable Evil and Vitiosity in *Stealing* or *Theft* properly so called: it is absolutely and in it self sinful and unlawful.

EXERCITATION IV.

The several Species of Diabolick Arts.

18 D. E. U. T. 10, 11.

*There shall not be found among
you any one that maketh his
son or his daughter to pass
through the fire, or that useth
divination, or an observer of
times, or an enchanter, or a
witch, or a charmer, or a con-
sultor with familiar spirits, or
a wizard, or a necromancer.*

HERE are reckon'd up the Vari-
ous Kinds of those unlawful Pra-
ctises whereby the Heathen Nations, in
Moses's

An Exercitation on 18 Deut. 10, 11. 55

Moses's time, held commerce with Evil Spirits. I will briefly give an account of the Distinct Nature of them, and shew how they Differ from one another; which is a thing that hath not been exactly done by those that have commented on these words.

The first sort of Practitioners in the Diabolic Arts is *he that makes his son or his daughter to pass through the fire.* Which barbarous usage is often spoken of in the Sacred Writings, and is sufficiently distinguish'd from all the other unlawful practises that follow, and therefore there will be occasion to say the less of it. The *Hebrew* Writings from which we might expect some Certainty about this savage Rite, are not all of a piece; some of them representing this *passing through the fire* as only a passing between two fires without any considerable harm; others asserting it to be the same with being devoured by fire. And there are *Christian* Writers of very great Learning that are divided about these two Opinions: some are very zealous in defending the latter of them, but others will by no means hear of it, and adhere wholly to the former Sentiment. I am inclin'd to think that they are both in the wrong, and that a Middle way is to be taken, namely, that sometimes the *Pagan* Idolaters, and in imitation

tation of them the *Jews* caused their Sons and Daughters to pass through fires kindled on both sides of them, which, though they lightly singed them, yet did not consume them. And perhaps from this Heathen custom the *fire Ordeal*, which was of several sorts, took its rise, it being only in way of *trial* and *judgment*, (as the * word signifies) and not for destruction. At other times, when the Zeal of the Pagan Worshippers was more fiercely kindled, they committed their off-springs, though never so dear to them, to the devouring Flames, and offer'd them up a Burnt-sacrifice to their Gods.

The ground of my dissenting from both the foresaid ranks of Writers is this, that the Heathen and Idolatrous Practice of exposing their Children to the fire is *differently* expressed in the Holy Writings, and in such a manner as we may gather thence that they did not do it alike. If we narrowly and nicely observe (as we ought to do, in order to have a true and exact notion of the matter before us) in what terms it is deliver'd in different places, we shall soon be Profelytes to this Opinion, and easily grant that as their Superstition and Bigotry were less or more heightned, so they either made their Chil-

* Ordeal, Lat. *Barb. ordalium*, aliis *Judicium Dei*. Ab A.S. Ordeal, Belg. Ordeel *judicium* Skinner. Etymolog. Ling. Angl.

Children pass through a *Probationary fire*, or else devoted them to one that *actually consumed them*. I will only further take notice that this offering of their Children to, or in the Fire, is said to be done to *Molech* or *Moloch*, 18 Lev. 21. and 20. 2. 32 Jer. 3. who was the principal Idol of the *Ammonites*, 1 Kings 11. 7. but yet not so appropriated to them, but that other neighbouring Nations took the same for their God; for it appears from the Pagan Records that they were very friendly in that point, and would frequently lend their Gods to one another. But in the interpretation of the Inspired Penmen of the Holy Writings, these Gentile Gods were no other than Devils, that is, the Cursed Evil Spirits were revered and worshipped under this shew of adoring Pagan Deities and Idols. Whilst *Moloch* was pretended to be the God they sacrificed to, the *Psalmist* tells us that *they sacrificed their sons and daughters unto devils*, 106 Psal. 37. Which gives us an account why *he that makes his son or his daughter to pass through the fire* is put here by *Moses* into the number of these that exercised *Diabolic Arts*, and directly or indirectly conversed with the *Spirits of Darkness*.

2. Such

2. Such a one also is *Rosem kesamim*, one that *useth divination*, or more strictly according to the Original, *he that divines divinations*, which I conceive may denote not only the person who exercises this Art, but those who consult him, and make use of him: to which latter the *Vulgar Latin* refers, rendring the words thus, *qui ariolos foiscitetur*. For, after the Pagan mode, they used to repair to such, on urgent occasions, to know what should befall them, or how they should act in some particular cases. Thus the *Philistines*, when the Ark proved troublesome to them, call'd for the *Rosemim*, the *diviners*, to tell them what they should do with it, 1 Sam. 6. 2. *Baalam* was consulted in such emergencies, he being skill'd in the Divinatory Art: therefore he is signally call'd *hakosem*, the *Diviner*, 13 Jos. 22. or, as our Translators render it, the *Soothsayer*. This is always represented in the Holy Writ as a very scandalous and detestable employment: and not without good reason, because it is a Correspondence with the Evil Spirit. Therefore when *Samuel* would express the heinous nature of *Disobedience* or *Rebellion*, he saith it is *as the sin of divination*, 1 Sam. 15. 23. though we translate it *witchcraft*, but with no exactness, for that is a particular species of unlawful Divination, of which

which we shall speak afterwards. Surely very appositely is wilful Disobeying of God or Rebelling against him made parallel with *Divination*, because they are both of them a forsaking of God, and having recourse to the Devil. Finally, I take this word קוץ to be a *General Title* prefixed to the rest that follow, to denote all kind of Divination. The particular sorts of it follow.

3. *Megnonen*, an observer of times (from *gnonah* a set time) is a particular and special word to signify the practise of Magical *Prognosticators* and *Soothsayers*, who lay a mighty stress on some certain *Seasons* and *Critical Minutes*, which they fancy depend on a particular position of the *Heavenly Bodies*. And so this also agrees with another derivation of the word *Megnonen*, as if it denoted one that divineth from the ענני the clouds, i. e. according to the signification of that word sometimes, the heavenly bodies, the Planets and other Stars. For the Gentile Idolaters were wont to predict future Events, not only by viewing the Skies and Clouds, but chiefly by making the position and aspect of the Luminaries of Heaven. And upon consulting of these it was their frequent practise to enter upon some Magical Operations. It was the opinion

opinion of a * Learned Rabbi, that most of such kind of Feats of old were effected by vertue of the *Stars*, both fix'd and planetary ; and that those Celestial Bodies were thought to recompence their Votaries with success in their Magical undertakings. And in way of return, these Operators shew'd a great reverence to the Stars, and constantly implored their aid and influence : and therefore this he calls their *worshipping of the Stars*.

These persons pretended to read the Fates of Men and Nations in the Lights above : more especially by vertue of their skill in that kind they were able to *observe times*, to judge of Days whether they were good or ill, lucky or unlucky (as they were pleas'd to term them) for they made the World believe that certain days and times were more then ordinarily subject to the influence of such and such Stars. It seems the *Philistines* were noted for this sort of Imposture, and are therefore stiled חֹזְקֵי הַיָּמִים *observers of times*, 2 Isai. 6. for that is the proper import of the word, byt *Soothsayers* (which our Translators use) is too general a term. King *Manasseh* was famous for this, of whom 'tis said 2 Kings 21. 6. וַיִּבְרָא הָיָה *he observed times*, he by evil arts attain'd to an insight into the particu-

* Maimonid. More Nevoch. p. 1. c. 37.

ar times and seasons of Events which were hid from others. This, I conceive, is the plainest and most genuine account of this word, which Commentators both Jewish and Christian have so much em-
 arafs'd. I have endeavour'd to shew how this sort of *Divination* is distinguish'd from the rest, and that is all I intended.

4. *Menachbesh*, an *Inchanter*, as our English Version hath it, but rather, *one that uses the Art of Augury*: for *nacash* is *augurium*, as well as *serpens*. And accordingly it is rendred by the LXX. οἰωνο-
 βουτος, and by the Vulgar Latin, *qui observat auguria*: And so is of near affinity with *roeh beccabed*, a *looker into the liver*, a *consulter with entrails*, 21 Ezek. 21. This is one of the Species of unlawful and superstitious Divinations: it is a making of Observations on the flying, feeding, and chirping of Birds, and thence presaging and foretelling things to come. *Menachbesh* was properly one that guess'd from the postures and actions of Fowls, what events would happen. Not but that sometimes the term is used in a larger sense: and so according to *R. Kimchi* it signifies one that fondly pretends to guess at futurities from other Accidents, as from the falling of a crum of bread out of ones mouth, from the falling of a Staff out of ones

ones hand, as well as the crowing of a Cock, and the like. And the Excellent * *Maimonides* interprets it of *Ominous* Accidents (as they were by the Superstitious reputed) such as the chattering of a Crow, the fall of Salt, the being cross'd on the way by a Hare, or some other Animal. Some other Judicious Interpreters understand it of *Lots*, and thereby enquiring when it is safe to take a Journey, to marry a Wife, when 'tis best to undertake such or such a Work. All this may be included in the word *Menachesh*, for I am apt to think that as it had its rise (as was said before) from the Noun *nacash*, which signifies *Augury*, so it had its first original from the Verb *nacash*, to *search and find out by experience*, 30 Gen. 27. and 44. 5. and so *Menachesh* is a Curious Observer of things, and one that especially searches for Lucky or Unlucky Signs, and pries into the success and issue of unusual Accidents in the World, but more particularly employs himself about the divining by *Birds*. *Balam* practis'd this sort of Divination, as we read 24 Num. 1. he betook himself to his *nechashim*, his *Auguries*, and Curious Observations about them. Some think this is meant in 1 Kings 20. 23. where *nacashu* is rendred by *Pa-*

* De Idololat. cap. 11. sect. 4.

nin augurati sunt, and by the Vulgar Latin *acceperunt pro omine*. It is certain that this was the common practice of the Idolatrous *Israelites*, 2 Kings 17. 17. and 'tis expressed by the same word there.

5. *Mekasheph*, a *Witch*, as we translate it, but rather, *he that bewitcheth*, (for *mekashephah* is the feminine word, and properly signifies a *Witch*) one that by witchery doth some harm and mischief; whence 'tis well translated *maleficus* by the Vulgar Version. And the mischievous Facinations used by such Persons are call'd *keshephim* in the Hebrew Text, and by the Seventy *φάρμακα* and *φάρμακείαι*. This sort of Magical Operation (which is by no means to be confounded with any of those before-mentioned) was very usual among the Ancient Pagans: whence there was a Law among the Old *Romans*, and inserted into their *Twelve Tables*, against this hurtful and malicious bewitchery and enchanting, and particularly * that whereby the fruits of the ground were endamaged. And these Magical Operators were wont to do any other strange and wonderful Feats, such as seem to be Miracles. So the Magicians of *Egypt* did seemingly perform the same wonderful things that *Moses*

* *Nē quis alienos fructū excantasset.* Senec. Nat. Quest. l. 4. c. 7.

really did. For I am not of † his Opinion who maintains that these Sorcerers *did really work True Miracles*, as True as those that *Moses* wrought. Much less can I agree with him when he saith *it was by God's help, and not the Devil's, that they did those surprizing actions*. If this be true, then we must grant God exerted two Sets of Miracles, one by *Moses*, and the other by the *Sorcerers*; the first to ascertain *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* that *Moses* was sent by God to deliver the *Israelites*; the second to oppose this, and prove it to be false, and to encourage the professed Enemies of God's Church and People. If we can credit this, and that when our Saviour saith, *There shall arise false Christs and false Prophets, and shall shew great Signs and Wonders*, 24 Mat. 24. his meaning is, that they shall do this by the *Divine Assistance*, we may then, but not before, entertain that Gentleman's new Doctrine of *Miracles*.

But to return to what we had been speaking of, that is, the Magical Operation of the *Keshaphim*, the bewitchers, this was a kind of *Magic* that was practis'd, not only among the *Egyptians* and other *Gentiles*, but the *Jews* too, particularly by *Manasseh*, for קשף is the word that is

† Mr. Fl. Essay of Miracles.

applied to him, 2 Chron. 33. 6. he used *witchcraft*. And the Jewish People are forewarned *not to hearken to their keshaphim, their Sorcerers*, 27 Jer. 9. as 'tis there rendred, for these were a generation of Men that would certainly procure their Ruine, it being the greatest badge of their Profession to do harm where they are employed.

6. *Chober cheber*, a *Charmer*, as we render it in our *English Bibles*, or more exactly according to the *Original*, *he that charmeth a charm* (as before, *he that divineth a divination*,) one that practises Magic by using of certain Words and Voices (as well as Signs and Ceremonies) instituted by Satan to effect something above the power of Man. This sort of Inchanters are call'd *Melachashim* (from *lacash, mussitavit*) *Mutterers*, because they generally use a low and imperfect kind of pronunciation, that their words may not be understood by the Vulgar, and that their Spells (as they imagine) may be more effectual. But especially words artificially composed into Number and Verse, are much used by them; thence a *Charmer* in this place is translated by the *Septuagint* *ἐπαιδων ἐπαιδων*, *one that sings his Song*. I might observe that *Chober* imports *conjoyning, associating*, as if it had respect to

the *Diabolic Compact*. This is he that by a Correspondence and Agreement with some Evil Spirit causes such and such things to be done, or hindreth the doing of them by certain *strange Words and Spells* that he uses. See *Maimon. de Idolat. cap. 11. sect. 10, 12.* Which is the true notion of a *Charmer*, and distinguishes him from all the other Retainers to Demoniacal Magic here specified.

7. The next is *Shoel ob, a consulter with familiar spirits*. It is rendred by the LXX. *ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας* one that speaks out of his belly, for so it was usual among the possessed and bewitched of old. And the Magicians and Witches themselves counterfeited a speaking thence, or at least they so pronounced their words, that they were thought to speak out of some hollow Vessel. Accordingly the word *אֹב* (which is used here) signifies a *bottle or hollow vessel*, and it became the Name of such who counterfeited Voices as if they were strange and more than Humane. *Sorcerers and Wizards* used to do this, to cheat and delude the People who came to enquire of them. They delivered their Answers as if they spake out of a *Bottle*, or some such concavous vessel. So the Woman of *Endor* is call'd (1 Sam. 28.7.) *bagnalah ob, the mistress of the bottle*, from which

which she spoke to them that came to consult her. The *Bottle* was her Oracle, and by it she deceived the People. Or, to offer some conjecture why *Bagnalah ob* and *Shoel ob* is rendred *ἡσασε μὲν* both here and in the Text before us, those that dealt with familiar Spirits, and deceived the People that way, used (as I said before) to speak with a hollow voice, as out of a *Bottle*, which being round and prominent, and resembling the *belly*, perhaps for that reason *ob* and *ventriloquus* are joyn'd together. It were easie to give instances of Denominations of the like nature, which are favourably received by Critics, and therefore I think this which I have propounded is not wholly to be rejected.

8. In the next place there is mention of *Jiddegnoni*, a *Wizard*, (a *jadang*, *scivit*) and so is as much as a *Cunning man*, as we vulgarly term him. And accordingly *saga*, from the adjective *sagus*, the same with *sagax*, is the word for a *Witch*. Here then is meant that sort of Magicians who are very *Knowing* and *Skilful* in the choicest Mysteries of this Hellish Art, who are Sagacious Interpreters of all the great Occurrences of the World, and especially undertake to amuse the People with Portentous Accidents that happen, and thence

the Hebrew word is rendred *neg'lonon* by the *Seventy*, an *Inspector or Observer of Prodigies*, which are made use of by him to devilish purposes. *Manasseh*, who was a thorough-paced Magician, was not defective as to this; 2 *Chron.* 33, 6. He not only caus'd his children to pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and used witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar spirit, but 'tis added, he dealt with wizards, *jiddegnoni*, the singular for the plural. This was the general practice of the Pagan World, (from whom *Manasseh* and other Jews borrowed it) and particularly the Egyptians, of whose seeking to the *Jiddegnonim*, the *Wizards* we read in 19 *Isai.* 3. These were the more knowing and skilful sort of Diviners and Magicians, and dealt in Prodigies and Wonders, and Events of the highest nature. This, as I apprehend, distinguishes them from the rest of the Fraternity in this place.

The last in the Catalogue is *Doresh el hammethim*, a *Necromancer*, or exactly according to the Hebrew, *one that seeks unto the dead*. It signifies that particular member of the Magic Art which consists in consulting the dead, in order to be acquainted with the future state of the living. This was no uncommon thing among

mong the *Gentile* Idolaters, and from them it came to be entertain'd and practis'd among some profligate *Jews*. Yea, even King *Saul*, when he was in great perplexities and streights, had recourse to this sort of Magicians for advice and help, 1 *Sam.* 28. 9, &c. of which I shall distinctly speak in the next place. At the present let it suffice that I have gone through the several Kinds and Sorts of *Diabolic Magic* made use of of old by the Pagan and Idolatrous Nations, and which in themselves were impious and prophane, and therefore emphatically stiled *Abominations* both before and after the Text, *vers.* 9 & 12. for which reason the *Israelites* were strictly forbid (as we read here) to imitate those Idolaters in any of these usages.

All that I will add in the Close is this, (and 'tis worth the observation of some that are addi'cted to Scepticism in our days) that *Moses's* Writings, the Ancientest and most Authentic Records in the World, bear witness that there is such a thing as *Diabolic Magic* or *Witchcraft*, and that there are Persons that employ themselves in the study and practice of the several distinct parts of it. This is manifest from the *particular Names* and *Titles* given them here by

Moses to the Students and Practitioners in this Art: and though perhaps one of them singly speaks not so much, yet it is certain that all of them put together, speak it aloud, *viz.* that there are those who hold alliance with the Damned Ghosts, and by their assistance perform all those wonderful Operations which we hear of.

EXER.

EXERCITATION V.

Whether *Samuel* himself
was called up from the
dead by the Witch of
Endor.

I S A M. 28. 8, 11.

*I pray thee divine unto me by
the familiar spirit, and bring
me him up whom I shall name
unto thee. --- Then said the
woman, whom shall I bring
up unto thee? And he said,
bring me up Samuel.*

THE most famous Instance in the
Sacred Records of *Diabolic Magic*
is that of the Witch of *Endor*, and there-
fore

fore I will offer some Remarks upon the History: King *Saul* in his distress comes to this Woman; to know of her what his Doom should be: and in order to that he desires her to *bring up unto him the person whom he should name to her.* He speaks this as a thing that was commonly known in those days, that the *Witch's* work was to raise some Spirit, to bring him up, and make him appear. Whereupon she ask'd him *whom she should bring up unto him*, v. 11. He answers, *Bring me up Samuel.* Whereupon we must suppose she presently went about her wonted work, that is, to raise some Damned Soul who should appear in such a shape as was desired, or to raise her Familiar Spirit or Devil in such a shape. This latter she effected now, and he appear'd in the form of *Samuel*, and gave an answer to King *Saul's* demands. It is true, there have been different Opinions about this. Whether it was the *Real Samuel*, or only *one in his shape*, is much disputed. Therefore I will first examine what Others have said on this Head, and then I will attempt to establish the Opinion that I have propounded. First, Some hold that the true *Samuel* was raised, though not by this Woman, but sent by God himself. His Soul, they say, was not fetch'd up by the Witches Sorcery, but by the *Divine Command.* But

this

is is mere supposition and conjecture, and hath no ground at all. Yea, it is highly improbable that God would be at the beck of an Inchantress, and dispatch Samuel from Heaven to Earth at the pleasure of a Witch. Or can we think that enchantments could call the Prophet down? Or can we imagine that God, who refused to answer Saul by *Urim* and *hummim*, and Dreams, and those ways that were ordinary, would vouchsafe to comply with him by this extraordinary way of bringing Samuel from the dead? Can we fancy that when he would not answer Saul, when he consulted him in that way which was of his own Appointment, he would yet do it in that way which himself had forbidden, *viz. Necromancy, i. e. asking counsel of the dead?* These things render the opinion of Theophrastus and those other Men utterly incredible, who imagine that this Apparition of the deceased Prophet was from God, that Samuel came on a message from Heaven, and was sent by God himself.

Others say that this Woman by Magic art rais'd him, and produc'd him, and that in his real person. The first who asserted this was * Josephus, who expressly tells us that Samuel himself appeared to

* Antiq. l. 6. c. 15.

Saul, being call'd up from the dead by the Witch. And he foolishly falls into a large commendation of her Courtesy and Hospitality to *Saul*: and he as profusely praises King *Saul* immediately after *Justin Martyr* in his *Dialogue with Trypho* the Jew asserts that the Soul of *Samuel* turn'd by the Witch of *Endor*'s means. And * *Origen* thought the like, because according to his judgment, all the Souls of the Godly were deposited some where below, and might be fetch'd up, and call'd with the greater ease. And from what † *Sulpitius Severus* saith, we may conclude that it was his opinion that the True *Samuel* appeared. And most of the Moderns of the Church of *Rome* agree with him in this.

That which they alledge as the Motive to induce them to believe this is the plain letter of the History, *Samuel said to Saul* v. 15. and 'tis repeated v. 16. Therefore *Samuel himself* spoke to *Saul*; and consequently the True *Samuel* was rais'd by the Witch of *Endor*. The Answer is plain, that he who spake to *Saul* is call'd *Samuel*, as Images and Idols are call'd Gods in Scripture, because they were reputed so by those that worshipp'd them. *Samuel said*, i.e. he that was thought to be *Samuel*.

* In 1 Reg. 28.

† Hist. Sac. l. 1.

uel said. It is usual in Scripture to speak according to Appearance; and so it is here. *Samuel* said, namely, according to the false apprehensions of *Saul* and his followers, who took this for the real prophet.

Again, 'tis alledg'd that when *the woman* saw *Samuel*, she cried with a loud voice, v. 12. which is an Argument that it was *Samuel* himself, and that thereupon she was suddenly surpriz'd and frightened. But this was a feign'd passion, only to try *Saul's* temper, and to make it an occasion of discovering her knowledge of him.

Therefore notwithstanding these Allegations, we may embrace the Perswasion of those who hold that *Samuel's* Soul was not raised and call'd back by the *Pythonisse*, but that the Devil had power to shape a body in the likeness of him, or to delude their Eyes that they should not think they saw such a shape. This woman had power by the Devil's help to make *Saul* believe this to be true, but it was not so indeed. It was not that Man of God that appear'd to the distressed King, but it was a Dæmon assuming the guise and similitude of that Holy Person, and acting his part. I doubt not but this was one of the Gods whom the woman saw ascending out of the earth, v. 13. for *Elohim*, and so the word Gods, are applied sometimes in Scripture

Scripture and in prophane Authors to the Infernal Dæmons, as I have lately shew'd in another place. The *Gods* here are the Evil Spirits which the Witch rais'd, one of whom took upon him the shape of *Samuel*, and the rest were assistant: but we are not to think that the True *Samuel* appear'd.

The Reasons to beget such a perswasion in us are these that follow, 1. If it had been the True *Samuel*, he would not have suffer'd himself to be worshipp'd by *Saul* as you read *v. 14.* 2. These words were spoken by him to *Saul*, *To morrow shalt thou be with me*, *v. 19.* but can we believe that a Person forsaken of God and Men should be with the Holy Prophet in the other World? *Saul* went to his own place, and was that it where the Man of God was? The impossibility of this shews that it was some Evil Dæmon that spoke: and so indeed it was no Lye that *Saul* should be with him, for he was fit company for him. Thus the Devil in that harangue to *Saul* (which was thought to be *Samuel's*) confutes himself, and discovers the Cheat. 3. It is improbable that *Samuel's* body appear'd, for we can scarcely think that God would suffer the Bodies of his deceased Saints to be thus abused, that is, to be at the command of this Vile woman. Besides, his Corps had been near

near two years in the Grave, and was partly rotted, so that perhaps it was above the Devil's power to raise it up entire. 4. Nor is it credible that the *soul* of *Samuel* (the Renowned Prophet) was recalled, and appear'd on this occasion: for though the Souls of the Saints may, on some special occasion, by the immediate disposal of God, be summon'd hither again, yet I do not believe that they are in the Devil's power, and that they can be call'd back by him when he pleases. * Let it not be thought that the soul of a Holy Seer, and a Dear Servant of the Most High, was at the disposal of a Witch, and was the mere Play-game of Satan. 5. They that dye in the Lord are at rest: therefore we are not to think that *Samuel's* Spirit or Soul return'd to this miserable World on such a troublesome Errand as this. And consequently it was not the True *Samuel* that appeared to *Saul*.

This was the general Sentiment of the Ancient Writers of the Church. Nay, this you'll find to be the judgment of the Author of the *Answers to the Questions of the Orthodox*: whence by the way we may infer that it is likely these were none of *Iustin Martyr's* Writings, because this

* *Abfit ut animam cujusquam Sancti, nedum Propheta, & demonio credamus extrahi.* Tertul. de Animâ.

contradicts what is said in his *Dialogus with Trypho*. It was not the Prophet himself, but Satan in his shape that appeared to Saul, saith (a) *Tertullian*. With whom agree (b) *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Gregory (c) Nazianzen* and (d) *Nyssen*, (e) *Basil the Great*, (f) *Jerom*, *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who writ against *Origen* on this Point, and some (g) others. St. (h) *Augustin* is doubtful, and disputes the matter on both sides, but at last concludes that he is rather inclin'd to think that it was not a real Appearance of *Samuel*, and this is the perswasion of *Bede*, *Anselm*, *Rabanus*, and *Thomas Aquinas*.

There is a late (i) Writer would persuade us that all this is a counterfeit Transaction, and was a mere figment and cheat, that it was wholly a Trick and Artifice. It was, saith he, neither *Samuel* nor the *Devil* in his likeness, but the Woman her self, or some body in confederacy with her that acted this part. And I find there are others inclineable to adopt this Opinion.

But this is too gross, and any one may

(a) De Animâ. cap. 57. (b) De Adorat. lib. 6.
 (c) Adv. Julian. Orat. 1. (d) Epist. de Pythonissâ.
 (e) In 8 Esai. (f) In 6 Matth. (g) Isidor. His-
 spal. Orig. l. 8. c. 9. Zonar. hist. tom. 1. (h) Ad Simplici-
 an. quæst. 3. Et Lib. de octo quæstionib. (i) Webster's
 Display of supposed Witchcraft.

perceive that this Conceit is the off-spring of their strong aversion to the received notion of *Witches*. They expunge these out of the nature of beings, and consequently the Woman of *Endor* is voted no Witch, and what is here reported concerning her is all of it Imposture and Delusion. But it is easie to discern how groundless this is; for it could not be a mere humane Imposture, because here was the positive Prediction of *Saul's* death the next day, which the Confederates could not know, or if they did, they dared not tell it to King *Saul*. Any thinking Man will grant that. Now, this shews there was an extraordinary hand in the business, and that the Devil was the main Agent, for he might well foretel the death of *Saul*, because he was design'd by God to be the chief Instrument of that Prince's Ruine. And indeed the foretelling of such Contingencies proves some Intelligent Spirits in the World. But it is vain to think that the Woman and her Confederate could predict such future Events. Therefore there is good reason to believe and assert that the whole Scene was a Reality, and it was the Transaction of a Diabolick Spirit personating of *Samuel*; that is, though he assumed not *Samuel's* real Body, yet he made use of some Matter, some Corporeal Substance, and shaped it

G into

into the Prophet's likeness, and so appear'd to *Saul*, and held discourse with him. And the Witch, by virtue of the Compact she had made with this Evil Ghost, could call him up when she pleas'd, and make him shew himself or the Body he assumed, in what resemblance she thought fit. We are therefore to look upon this famous Relation of the *Witch of Endor* as an undeniable proof of *Witches* transacting with *Evil Spirits*.

EXERCITATION VI.

A Conjecture concerning the true meaning of *Baal-zebub*.

2 KINGS I. 2.

--- *Baal-zebub the God of Ekron.*

SOME very Learned Writers, according to the groundless Tradition of some *Rabins*, whom they too much trust to, tell us that there never were any *Flies* that approached the Sacrifices of the True God, and molested them ; whereas (if you'll believe them) it was otherwise with the Pagan Idols and Sacrifices ; whence (say they) this *B A A L* was called *the Lord of Flies* by the *Israelites* in contempt and derision , because his Sacrifices were

G 2 always

always pester'd with Flies. Other Writers think that the *Ekronitish* God had this name from a power which he had of dispelling and vanquishing swarms of Flies, that were at some times especially very troublesom, and accordingly he was implored by them to remove that plague. But I find not that there is any more foundation for this than for the other Opinion, though very Great Men have appeared on both sides.

And therefore I am enclin'd to believe that there must be another Solution of this Name or Term *Baal-zebub*: and what should it be but this, that it was a Great Fly, or the Image of one, that was esteem'd a God by the *Ekronites*, and therefore they applied the name of *Baal*, i. e. Lord (which was the Title of their Chief God) to it, as much as to say, *the Lord Fly*. The very Name it self sufficiently declares this, for what is *Bagnal zebub* but *Dominus* or *Magister Musca*, the Lord Fly, or the Master Fly? These two words are, as I conceive, both of them in the *Nominative* Case, whereas it hath been thought hitherto by the Learned, that the latter of them is in the *Genitive*, and accordingly they translate it *Muscae*, and the entire Name is rendred *Dominus muscae*, the Lord of a Fly. And so it is no wonder indeed that they can make nothing of it, namely, whilest

whilest they render it after the ordinary way. I have not found among the Hebrews, saith * *Sebastian Munster*, why *Baal* is call'd *Baal-zebub*, i. e. the Master of a Fly. And our famous Antiquary, who was as Great an Hebrician as † *Munster*, professes he was ignorant of the reason of the name of *Belzebub*, as it signifies *dominus muscarum*. It could not be otherwise, seeing he and others were so unfortunate as to light upon the wrong Construction of the words. But now if you take them simply and plainly, as they are, they are very intelligible, for *Bel-zebub* is *Dominus Musca*, or, if you will, *Domina Musca*. It is expressly the Lady or Lord Fly, i. e. the Goddess or God Fly. But whether it was a live Fly, or only the Image of one which they kept, I will not dispute.

Having laid this down according to the plain and obvious Syntax of the Hebrew words, I will acquaint the Reader what it was that gave me the first hint towards this meaning of the words. In the Greek Version of the LXX. I found it *μῦαν θεὸν Ἀκκρόων*, the Fly God of Ekron, and || *Josephus* accordingly calls it *τὸν Ἀκκρόων θεὸν μῦαν*. These are very good Authors, and a Man can do no less then attend to them.

* In 10 Matth. 25.

† De Dis Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 5.

|| Antiq. l. 9. c. 1.

You may add * *Procopius Gazæus*, who asserts this Idol to be the *Image of a Fly* set up and worshipped. - Another plain Writer (and who hath several uncommon things in him) positively holds that the *Ekronites* worshipped a Fly: † *The Image or Representation*, saith he, *of that sordid Animal which they beat away with flaps when it was living, they call'd a God when it was dead.* Or, as it is most probable, they worshipped it both living and dead. This was the Chief Numen of the *Ekronites*, to whom King *Abaziah* sent, when he was mortally hurt with a fall, to know whether he should recover. He not only neglected the True God, but the Idols of *Israel*, and must needs consult this Buzzing Deity of the *Philistines*.

We need not be very inquisitive why the Pagans made a *Fly* a God, for the same folly and stupidity which moved them to deifie other Creatures, might as well prompt them to shew the same respect to this particular sort of them. But it may be there was some peculiar occasion of the rise of this sordid piece of Idolatry. It may be they first erected this *Fly-God* to free them from other noisom and hurtful Flies, which sometimes they were infested with. He was the Great

* In 2. lib. Regum.
 τὸν τῦτον θεὸν ἐνομήσαντι.

† ἐν ζώσων τῆς ῥιτίου ἐλαύνουσιν αὐτὸν
 Mic. Glych. Annal. par. 2.

Lord-Fly that drove away and master'd all the rest. *Pliny* had got some Tradition of this from those Authors that he had met with, for he seems to speak of this very God of *Ekron* or *Accaron* (for so the *Greek* and *Latin* Versions render it) whom he corruptly calls * *Achorem Deum*, and tells us that some inhabitants in *Cyrene* (for he and all Writers of that way miserably mistake as to the names of Places) used to call upon him when great swarms of Flies visited them, and brought the Pestilence with them: but they were presently destroy'd upon invoking and sacrificing to this God.

Now, from this Ancient *Baal-zebub* (the chief God of *Ekron*) other Pagan Worshippers afterwards borrowed the like sort of Vile Deity, and would by all means have a *Fly-God*, who should upon occasion be able to defend them from that sort of Insects, or to drive them away when they become very troublesome. Hence we read that the Greeks worshipped † *Jupiter* *Ἰσχυρις* and *μωλύγος*, of which they give this account, that *Hercules* sacrificing in *Olympia*, and being assaulted with a great company of Flies, *Jupiter* beat them away, and so thereupon he sa-

* *Invocant Cyreniaci Achorem Deum*, (for so it is in some Copies.) *Plin. N. Hist. l. 10. c. 28.* † *Pausan. in Arcadic. & in Eliac. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 29. c. 6. Macrob. Saturnal.*

crific'd to Jupiter *Ἰουπιτέρου*. And Hercules himself had the title of *μυιάγρ* the Fly-hunter given him by the Arcadians, saith Pausanias, and they worshipp'd him under that name and notion. Pliny mentions the * same, and saith they used to call for his help when they were plagued with Flies. The same Author saith, that at the Olympian Games they sacrificed a Bull to a God † *quem Myodem vocant*, and by that means the sholes of Flies where with they were haunted, were driven out of the place. And hear what a || Writer of the Church saith; the Grecians (as he testifies) sacrificed to Jupiter *Ἰουπιτέρου*, and the Romans to Hercules *Ἰουπιτέρου*. All this refers to the God of Ekron, it is in imitation of the old Bagnal-zebub, the Lord-Fly, the base Insect which the Idolatrous Ekronites as devoutly worshipp'd as the Egyptians did their Cats and Dogs.

With allusion to this * Vile, but busie and vexatious Creatures, the Chief of the Infernal Demons, was stiled by the Jews Baal-zebub, or according to the Syriack Beelzebub, as appears from 12 Mat. 24. 27. and 11 Luke 15. (though 'tis true in these

* *Myiagron Deum*. Nact. Hist. l. 10. c. 28 † Lib. 29. c. 6.
 || Clem. Alex. Protrep. * *Principem demoniorum ex pur-*
cissimi animalis vocabulo appellabant Judæi, quod Musca dicitur
propter Immunditiam. Hieron. in cap. 10. Mat.

places and others in the New Testament *Beelzebub* is changed into *Beelzebub*, according to the Greek, which alteration of the Name the *Jews* made only to reproach and upbraid (as you shall hear afterwards) those sordid Idolaters that worshipped a *Fly*, which is so vile a Creature.) A *Fly* is an Emblem of *Impudence*, and therefore when the *Egyptians* would signify this Vice, they paint this *Insect*, because it is a Creature, that though it be often beaten away, yet it comes again. The *Jews* therefore, who were near Neighbours to the *Egyptians*, and borrowed many things from them (yea, since they borrowed their *Jewels*) applied this very fitly to the *Prince of Devils*, whose impudent and restless Assaults give him a just claim to the name of *Baal-zebub*, the *Domineering Fly*. And when we consider that the *Flies* in the Eastern Countries were much larger and stronger than they are here in these Northern parts, and that especially some sorts of them, as they were of a very considerable size, so they were very filthy, noisom and infectious, and did a great deal of mischief wherever they came, (To which may be referred those words of *Solomon*, 10 *Eccles.* 1. *Dead flies cause the ointment of the Apothecary to send forth a stinking savour.* I think we should rather read it *deadly flies*, or *flies*

flies of death, as it is in the Hebrew : which is to be understood as *instruments of death*, 7 Psalm 14. that is, deadly, mischievous, pernicious. Such are this sort of Flies here spoken of, they are putrid, poisonous, and extreemly noxious. As they are bred out of filthiness and corruption, so they cause these ; yea, they corrupt and taint the most Precious things, (as *Solomon* here instances) the best *Oyntments* and purest *Confections*. When we consider this, I say, we may further apprehend how congruously and appositely this Epithet *Bel Zebub* is fixed on the *Principal Demon*.

And moreover, if we consider that he is call'd * *the Prince of the Power of the Air*, this Title will appear to be yet more congruous and significant. His place is in *that Element* chiefly, for though he and the rest of the Apostate Spirits were thrown down from Heaven, and consign'd to the Infernal Regions, as their proper Center, yet they are permitted to make excursions thence, and to hover in the *Air*, and there to do great feats sometimes. The *Fly's* Element is *theirs*, and there (like those unwearied Insects) they flutter up and down, and are sometimes very troublesom and noisom : and one of

* 2 Eph. 2.

hem is as it were the *Master-Fly*, therefore he is deservedly call'd *Bel-zebub*.

Till the Reader lights on a better Gloss upon this Title, as it is applied to the Prince of the Air, the Ringleader of all the Infernal Troops, he is welcome to this. And I hope I have given a satisfactory account of the Name as it signifies a *God* or *Idol* of the *Pagans*. It was no other than some *Great Fly* worship'd by them, as it is confess'd and hath been prov'd that they deified the Vilest of Animals: and at this day a *Bal* among the *Mexicans* is esteem'd as a God, according to that account which is given us of that People by * *Gyraldus*.

* Hist. Ind. l. 3.

EXER-

EXERCITATION VII.

A distinct Account of the
Double Captivity of the
Jews, and of their *distinct*
Returns from it.

2 E Z R A I.

These are the children of the
province that went up out of
the captivity.

SEEING the *Captivity* of the *Jews*
is so frequently mentioned in the *Old*
Testament, it may be serviceable for the
clearing this Text which is propounded,
and several others, to assign the distinct
Seasons and Periods belonging to this
Matter, and to remove those Obscurities
and Difficulties which attend it. We are in-
form'd

form'd from the Sacred History that there was a *Double Captivity*, namely that of the *Ten Tribes*, and that of the other *Two* afterwards. The former of these is distinctly recorded in 2 Kings 17.5,6. Then the King of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years. In the *ninth year* of Hoshea, the King of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria. And more distinctly in 18 Chap. 9, 10, 11 v. It came to pass in the fourth year of King Hezekiah (which was the seventh year of Hoshea, son of Elai King of Israel) that Shalmanezar King of Assyria came up against Samaria, and besieged it. And at the end of three years they took it, even in the sixth year of Hezekiah (that is, the ninth year of Hoshea King of Israel) Samaria was taken. And the King of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria. This is the particular Epoche of the Transportation of the *Ten Tribes* of Israel, which happened about the year of the World 3230, and somewhat above 700 years before Christ's coming. These Tribes fell off first to Jeroboam, and therefore they were deservedly carried captive first.

Next follows the Captivity of the other *Two Tribes*, which began about thirty years after. I say, it began, for this was not (as the former one) finished all at once,

once, but at several *distinct* times, which I will proceed particularly to recount, and shew you in what Kings reigns it was gradually compleated.

The first Migration which *Judah* was concern'd in, was in King *Manasseh's* time. Which though some very Learned Writers have omitted, and begin the Captivity of the Ten Tribes from King *Jehoiakim*, yet it is very evident to an unprejudic'd Enquirer into this matter, that this Transportation commenc'd in *Manasseh's* reign. For which I appeal to 2 Chron. 33. 10, 11. *The Lord spake to Manasseh and to his people : but they would not hearken. Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the King of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon.* The Cause of this Judgment upon *Judah* is here assign'd, *they would not hearken, i. e.* they were disobedient : this is charg'd upon both King and People, and accordingly 'tis said the Lord brought upon *them* the *Assyrian* Armies who took *Manasseh*, and convey'd him away out of his own Country, and 'tis not to be doubted that with him they carried a considerable number of his Subjects. So that, whatever some have suggested, we may reckon this as the first-fruits of the Captivity of *Judah*.

The

The next Transport was under King *Jehoiakim*, who himself was also seized in the third or fourth year of his reign, and in the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign, and was carried to *Babylon*, as we read in 2 *Chron.* 36. 6. *Against him* (i. e. *Jehoiakim* mentioned in the former verse) *came up Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon.* At the same time *Daniel* and his Companions were transplanted into that Country, 1 *Dan.* 1, 2. and some of the consecrated Vessels of the Temple were taken away, and deposited by *Nebuchadnezzar* in his Idol-Temple at *Babylon*. Hitherto I have reckon'd only the *Forerunners* of the Great Captivities of the Two Tribes: these two already mentioned are but mean and inconsiderable in respect of those others (especially the next three) which are to ensue: of which I come now to speak.

The third carrying away of the People of *Judah* was under King *Jehoiachin*, or *Jeconiah*, as he is otherwise call'd 1 *Chron.* 3. 16. in the first year of his Reign, after he had reigned three months. Of this distinct Transportation we are inform'd from what is recorded in 2 *Kings* 24. 10. &c. which I will set down at large, *At that time the servants of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon came up against Jerusalem,*

lem, and the city was besieged. And Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon came against the city, and his servants did besiege it. And Jehoiachin the King of Judah went out to the King of Babylon, he and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his officers: and the king of Babylon took him in the eighth year of his reign. And he carried out thence all the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the kings house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon king of Israel had made in the temple of the Lord, as the Lord had said. And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land. And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon, and the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his officers, and the mighty of the land; those he carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon. And all the men of might, even seven thousand, and craftsmen and smiths a thousand, all that were strong and apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon. Seeing the Holy Ghost is so particular in the enumeration of those who were made Captives in this Transportation, I thought fit to transcribe the whole, that it might be seen how this

Captivity

Captivity is distinguished from all the rest. Now it was that King *Jeconiah* with all his Royal Kindred, and his whole Court, and with all that were of any note and quality, and all that were of any useful Trades and Occupations were removed into the Enemies Country: and none were left behind but the dregs of the People, that is, such as *Nebuchadnezzar* did not think worth carrying away. Under this Captivity *Ezekiel* (that holy Prophet) was sent away, and prophesied in *Chaldea*. Also, *Mordecai* (that eminent Patriot of the Jewish Nation) was one of those that underwent the same fate at that time, for 'tis said in 2 *Esther* 6. *he was carried away from Jerusalem, with the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah King of Judah, who Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon had carried away.* And here I would have it remark'd, that this is not that *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom we have mentioned before, but his Son and Successor, and who gain'd the Title of *Nebuchadnezzar the Great*; and (as we may observe) is sometimes call'd *Nebuchadnezzar*, to distinguish him from his Father. It was under this Potent Monarch and Prosperous Tyrant that *Jeconiah* and the greatest part of the Jews were carried captive into *Babylon*, and (as you shall hear afterwards) *Jerusalem* it self destroy'd.

I note this, because these two *Nebuchadnezzars* are often confounded by Writers of no mean figure. And one reason why the Father is taken for the Son, and the Son for the Father (which is a gross oversight) is, because there hath not been observed the True Distinction of the Captivities. It hath not been carefully related under what particular Princes these did happen. Which is the thing I am now attempting.

The fourth Deportation was in the eleventh year of King *Zedekiah's* reign. Of whom 'tis recorded that *he was taken by the army of the Chaldeans, and had his eyes put out, and was carried to Babylon, 2 Kings 25. 6, 7. 39 Jer. 2. and 52. 4, 5, 9, 11.* And I conceive that the number of the People that were Captives at that time, is to be learnt from *52 Jer. 29.* In the eighteenth year of *Nebuchadrezzar*, he carried away captive from *Jerusalem* eight hundred thirty and two persons. For the eighteenth year of *Nebuchadrezzar the Great*, and the eleventh year of King *Zedekiah's* reign were coincident, as might be proved by comparing of places.

There was a fifth Carrying away of the People, of which we read in *2 Kings 25. 8.* and 'tis said there to have been in the nineteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*: and we are particularly told that the rest

of

of the people that were left in the city, with the remnant of the multitude, were carried away, v. 11. And now was the Final Destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, the latter being burnt with fire, and the walls of the former being broken down round about, v. 9, 10. For though Jerusalem had been taken before, by the King of Babylon, namely, Nebuchadrezzar the Great, in the reign of Jechonias, and was in part spoil'd by him, yet now under Zedekiah (if we may say, under him, seeing he was removed) was the Total Desolation of both City and Temple.

Sixthly, Four years after this there was another distinct Deportation, which was the last of all. This is mentioned by Jeremiah, 52 chap. 29. In the three and twentieth year of Nebuchadrezzar, Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard carried away captive of the Jews seven hundred forty and five persons. It seems by this that the Nation was not so drain'd by the former Removals, but there were some still left behind; for though the remnant of the multitude, that was left in the city, was carried off before (as we read) yet now 'tis probable the remainder in the Country are sent after them to Babylon, and so the whole Nation is made captive. Thus, I think, I have made it appear from the Sacred Records (which are the only Evi-

denced Judge in this and the like cases) that there were six distinct Captivities of the two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and consequently that those Writers who reckon but three, or four at most, are under a mistake, and have not duly consulted the Sacred History.

In the next place I will give a particular Account of the Jews *Return* from their Captivity. I shall not concern my self at present for the *Ten Tribes*, whose Return is disputed: * *Josephus*, himself a Jew, expressly owns that *there are only two Tribes in Asia and Europe that live under the Roman Empire; but the other Ten are at this day beyond Euphrates*. And some other Hebrew and Christian Writers hold the same. But this is opposed by many of the Ancients and some of the Moderns. The *Ten Tribes* return'd partly with the *Two* others, and afterwards under the *Persian Kings*, say † *Theodoret*, || *Cyril*, and * *Theophylact*: and *Dr. Lightfoot* agrees with them. And there seems to be a hint of this in *6 Ezra 16*. where the return of some of the children of *Israel* (as distinct from *Judah*, or the two Tribes) is mention'd. But I have spoken of this in another place, and therefore shall add no more, but con-

* *Antiq. l. i. c. 5.*
Malach.

† *In 3 cap. Hof.*

|| *In 2 cap.*

* *In 3 cap. Hof.*

fine my self to the account of those of the Jewish Nation whose *Return* we are sure of, and which was never call'd in question. This *Return* of theirs (like their *Captivity*) was not all at once, but at distinct times.

First, The main Body of the caprived *Jews* was brought back by *Zerubbabel*, of which this particular Text 2 *Ezra*.1. makes mention, and is the foundation of this Discourse, because it comprehends both the *Captivity* and *Return* of the *Jews*, which I intended to speak of distinctly. This Verse is the Introduction to that famous Register of the Priests and People that *went up out of the Captivity, of those who had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon had carried away to Babylon, and came again into Jerusalem and Judah, every one unto his city.* And 'tis observable that they are call'd *the children of the Province*, that is, say some Writers of good note, they were such who had inhabited in the Province of *Babylon*, in contradistinction to others who were dispers'd into other parts of *Chaldea*. But I rather close with those Interpreters who understand by *the children of the Province*, those *Jews* who formerly lived in *Judah*, which at that time was become a *Province*, that is a *Tributary Country*, and brought into

subjection under another Prince. We cannot doubt of this interpretation if we consult 5 *Ezra* 8. and 1 *Neb.* 3. where *Judah* is expressly call'd a *Province*, and therefore we have reason to apply it so in this place, and to look upon *the children of the Province* to be that Body of *Jews* (or the off-spring and *children* of that body, which may be a particular reason perhaps why they are stiled the *children*) who belong'd to the Tribe of *Judah*, and lived, before their Captivity, in that peculiar place and division of the Country. Of these it is said that *they came with Zerubbabel*, 2 *Ezra* 2. they return'd under the conduct of that Eminent Ruler who undertook the building of the Temple, 3 *Ezra* 10. and 5. 2. and revived and put in practice the Ancient Rites and Religious Laws given by God to *Moses*. This was in the first year of the reign of *Cyrus*, King of *Persia*, 1 *Ezra* 1, 2. who having conquered *Babylon*, set the *Jews* at liberty, who till that time were detain'd there in slavery by the *Babylonian* Kings; and he bestow'd on them great Sums to rebuild their Temple: and thereby he ingaged the *Jews*, and secured their Obedience to him.

Secondly, A considerable company of the *Jews* return'd with *Ezra*, in the seventh year of the reign of *Artaxerxes*,

7 Ezra 1. and 8. 1. and now the Jewish Church began to be settled, and Reformation advanced with some success. This part of the History of the *Return* is so plain that there is no need of insisting on it.

Thirdly, Other captiv'd *Jews* came back to their own Country with *Nehemiah*, in the twentieth year of King *Artaxerxes*, 2 *Neh.* 1, 2. which was thirteen years after the preceding *Return* under *Ezra*, for he return'd in the seventh year of this *Artaxerxes's* reign, and *Nehemiah* in the twentieth. And now the Walls of *Jerusalem* were rear'd, and Reformation further advanc'd, and the *Jews* began to enter into a flourishing state. This is the distinct Account of the *Triple Return* of the *Jews* from *Babylon* which the Sacred Annals furnish us with. They were brought back at three distinct times, and under the conduct of three Great Men, *Zerubbabel*, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

It remains now that I speak something of that great Debate and Controversie among the Learned, to wit, from which of the fore-mention'd Captivities of the Two Tribes the *Seventy years of Captivity* (so often mention'd) began; and at which of the *Returns* it had its Period. First, as to the *beginning* of it, it could not possibly commence with the Transportation

ration which was in *Manasseh's* time, for that is removed at too great a distance from any of the Returns from *Babylon*. And the Transmigration in King *Jehoia-kim's* reign, (though it was above thirty years afterwards) falls short of the time as to some years, though *Severus Sulpitius* of old, and *Vatablus* of late (who espouse this particular Epoche) oppose this. And we can't reckon from the other Captivity in the eleventh year of King *Zedekiah's* reign, when *Jerusalem* was destroy'd, and the Temple burnt, (which is the *Æra* that is embrac'd by *Josephus* the Jew, and some of the Greek and Latin Fathers) or from the lesser Deportations afterwards, for these exceed the term of threescore and ten years. But, upon a strict examining of the matter, I find that it is most probable (for Probability is the height of our Attainment in such things) that this Computation began from the carrying away of the People in King *Jeconiah's* reign, under *Nebuchadnezzar the Great*. Besides that the exactest *Chronological Tables* justify this, 'tis reasonable to think that that famous term of *Seventy* years is to take its rise from some *Eminent Captivity* or Carrying away of the *Jews* into *Babylon*: now, it is certain that there is none so *eminent* as that which I have assign'd. This no one will doubt of who hath perused the

the Narrative of that Captivity set down in 2 *Kings* 24. 10, &c. which I have entirely transcrib'd, to convince the Reader of the Eminency and Remarkableness of it. And we may remember likewise that This was the *First Captivity* of *Judah* that was considerable, and therefore it is not to be question'd but that the *Threescore and ten years* commenced from this first Great Deportation of the Jewish People: These, as I apprehend, are Reasons sufficient to induce us to believe that that Celebrated Computation bore date from King *Jeconiah's* removing from *Jerusalem* to *Babylon*, and from that so Notable Carrying away of all the great and useful Persons of the Nation.

Then as to the *ending* of these *Seventy years*, though there hath been some Difference about the fixing of it (which could not but happen, because of the Variety of Opinions about the first *beginning* of them) yet if we will be determin'd (as surely we ought) by the Infalible Records of Scripture, we can't but place it in the *First Return* of the *Jews* from *Babylon*. This is very plain from 2 *Chron.* last Chapter, v. 20, &c. where we read expressly, that *the Jews were servants in Babylon to the King of the Chaldees and his sons, until the reign of the kingdom of Persia* (that is, of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*)

to fulfil threescore and ten years. And this is according to what *Jeremiah* had prophesied, 25 ch. 11, 12 v. that *the Jews* should serve the King of Babylon seventy years, and that these seventy years should be accomplish'd as soon as the King of Babylon was punish'd, and his kingdom desolated, which was effected by *Darius* the Mede and *Cyrus* the Persian: at which time the latter gave leave to the *Jews* to return home.

And there is *Reason* (as well as *Scripture*) on our side, for the plain and natural conduct of that will direct us to the first *Return* of the *Jews*, and bid us determine the Period there, namely, the first year of King *Cyrus's* Persian Monarchy. For as this was the first and earliest, so this was the most eminent and numerous *Return* of the Jewish People from their Captivity, and therefore we are invited to fix here. But especially we have reason to do so because the Computation exactly agrees, for from the Captivity in King *Jehoiachin's* time, (which it is probable was in the year of the World 3350) to King *Cyrus's* first year (which was the first year of the Jewish Restoration, and was the year of the World 3420) the term of Seventy years was exactly run out and completed. All other Computations but this are either defective or redundant, they either fall short, or stretch too far; and there-

Therefore I pitch upon this as the exactest and surest way of numbring the Seventy years of Captivity. And there is, by the way, this Congruity in it, that this number of years ended when the *Second Monarchy* began : which renders it very Remarkable ; for this was when *Babylon*, the scourge of the *Jews*, was subdued , and signally punish'd for its enslaving the People of God, and inhumanly treating of them so long a time. Now it was that the *Seventy years* expired, and at the same time the Enemies of the *Jews* were brought under subjection to the King of *Persia*. It might be further remark'd, that at the time when a *New Empire* was erected in the World, then the *Jewish* Bondage ceas'd, and the Afflicted Captives return'd home, and set up a *New Government*.

The mentioning of this latter prompts me to annex here a few words concerning the *Government* of the *Jews* after their happy Return from *Babylon* , which I will not disown to be a Digression, but I'll make amends for it by being very brief, and by endeavouring to correct some Mistakes about this matter. Immediately after the Restoration, the Supreme Government was lodged first in the *Princes* or *Chieftains* of the Tribe of *Judah*, whereof *Zerubbabel* was the first, and that deservedly, he having been the Leader of the returning

returning *Jews*, and shewing himself so active and zealous in re-establishing of that Nation. But this is not said as if the Supreme Power wholly resided in this Civil Ruler, as some have asserted, but erroneously; for any one that consults the Jewish History, will find that the *High-Priests* were sharers in it, the first whereof were *Joshua*, *Joachim*, &c. And besides, the *Sanhedrim* had all along a great stroke in the Government. This August Council which was at first appointed and constituted by *Moses*, lasted even till *Herod's* time, who abolish'd it, and put most of the Members of it to death: but this Venerable Assembly was restored after the Return from the Captivity, and was in great Repute. But notwithstanding what hath been thus suggested, one Single Person, of the Family of *David*, was own'd to the Chief aim of the Jewish People after their Restauration, and he was always chosen out of the chief Heads of the Tribes.

Secondly, After these Rulers, who were of the House of *David*, and continu'd about two hundred years, there succeeded the *Maccabees* or *Asmonaans*, of whom *Mattathias* was the first. He was the Son of *Johanan* the High-Priest, and was still *Chasmoni*, and his Posterity *Chasmonim* and afterwards *Maccabees*. Though this

latte

atter Denomination had its rise from *Ju-*
as call'd *Maccabæus*, from the four Let-
 ters M C B J which he bore in his Stan-
 ard, taken from 15 *Exod.* 11. He was
 the eldest of the seven Sons of *Salamona*,
 that celebrated Religious Woman, and he
 was the second of the *Asmonean* Rulers.
 The other three were *Jonathan*, *Simon*, and
Johannes Hircanus : and they were all of
 them extraordinarily stirr'd up by a Di-
 vine Impulse to assert and vindicate the
 True Religion. They shew'd a wonder-
 ful zeal, resolution and courage in the
 defence of their Country and its Laws,
 and in restoring the Government and Or-
 der which had been corrupted by those
 Jewish Rulers who preceded them, and
 were the Chief Heads of their Tribes. I
 have only further to note that these *Mac-*
cabees were *Priests*, as those others were
Lay persons.

Thirdly, the Government of *Kings*
 succeeded that of the Maccabean High-
 Priests; for so it is, and there are abun-
 dant Instances of it, most *Governments*
 tend in process of time to Regal Power,
 they center here after many risques and
 revolutions, of which I shall not at pre-
 sent attempt to assign the Cause. It is
 certain it was thus here, the *Jews* wheel'd
 about at last to their old form of Go-
 vernment, and the Title of *Kings* was
 assumed

assumed by their Rulers. But this we are to remember, that the Rule and Dominion were still in the *Asmonæan* Family: for those *Maccabees* who ruled with the Title of *High-Priests*, were succeeded by others of the *Maccabæan* Family who were *Kings*. Or rather, which I take to be the exactest Account of this third sort of Governors among the *Jews* after the Restoration, the same Race of *Maccabees* took upon them the Title and Power of *Kings*, as well as the Office of *High-Priests*, which was a thing that had not been used since the Captivity. They had hitherto contented themselves with the Title of High Priests, but now they aspire to that of Kings, and henceforth great disorders and extravagancies are committed, and nothing but Ambition, Revenge, Rapine, Treachery, Murder, Usurpation, Tyranny, and all Villanies are heard of. The first of those who assumed the Royal Government, and who were also Priests, was *Aristobulus*, the Son of *Hircanus*: and the last of the Jewish descent was *Antigonus*, who was succeeded by *Herod* the Son of *Antipater* an *Idumean*, the first Stranger that was King of the *Jews*, the Scepter at that time departing from *Judah*; and then *Shiloh* came, that is, Christ was born.

Thus

Thus after the Return from the Captivity there were three sorts of Government among the *Jews*, namely, *Captains* or Chief Heads of the Tribes, *High-Priests*, and *Kings*. There were fourteen of the first sort, five of the second, and seven of the other. This is the short Account of the Successive Governments of the *Jews* after the Return from the Captivity, till Christ's time.

EXER.

EXERCITATION VIII.

The Difference between
the *Spirit* or Soul of a
Man, and that of a
Beast.

3 ECC L. 21.

*Who knoweth the Spirit of Man
that goeth upwards, and the
spirit of a beast that goeth
downward to the earth?*

FOR the right understanding of the
meaning of the Wise Man's words,
who supposes and grants that there are
Humane, and that there are *Bestial Souls*,
and that both these are *Spirits*, it is requi-
site that we acquaint our selves with this
necessary

necessary Point of Philosophy, that there are Two Chief Heads or General Ranks (and no more) of Real and Substantial Beings, namely, *Bodies* and *Spirits*, for though the latter of these only are mention'd here, yet it is absolutely necessary towards the right apprehending of the Nature of the one, to have a true Notion of the other.

We must know then that the former, *i. e. Bodies*, are distinguish'd by such Properties as these, first, *Quantity* or *Extension*: for a Body or Matter is constituted such by its being Extended. This is the Prime and Fundamental Attribute of a Material Substance. Secondly, hereupon follows another, *viz. its being Divisible into parts*: so that we may truly say, Corporeity consists also in Divisibility, this being a necessary result of the Extension of the parts. Thirdly, It belongs to Matter to have a certain *Figure* and *Proportion*, this being the natural consequence of such and such extended and divisible parts. Fourthly, It is the nature and essence of it to take up a certain *Space*, and to be but in one place at once, for Matter must needs be Impenetrable by any other Extension whatsoever. Fifthly, It is merely a *Passive* Substance, and there is no Spontaneous Motion or Action belongs to it, of it self. For it is a receiv'd

I Maxim,

Maxim, that all Corporeal beings continue in that state they are in, whether of rest or motion, till they are put out of it by some other force acting upon them. Now, if they for ever persevere in the same condition in which they once were, unless some other Agent or Cause alter their motion or rest, it is clear that they have no Activity of their own, but on the contrary, that Passivity or Inactivity is of the very essence of Matter.

And in the sixth place, it follows hence that Matter is void of all *Sense* and *Perception*. For if it hath no pretence to *Action*, most assuredly it can have no claim to *these*, which are Acts of the chiefest sort and the highest degree. Whatever you discern in Matter, is purely from the Disposition and different Modification of its parts, whence arise those qualities of Heat and Cold, Hardness and Softness, Solidity and Fluidness, Dryness and Humidity, &c. which evidences that it hath nothing to do with Sense and Perception, nor is it capable of them. Much less hath it an ability to *Understand*, *Think*, *Will*, or to exert any operation of that nature: for, as in other cases, so here we judge of things by the proportion they have to one another: we conclude this thing is not that, nor another, nor a third, because when we consider its nature, we find

find there is no Cognation between it and them. How absurd and irrational then is it to fancy *Thinking Matter*, when there is no Affinity between a *Body* and a *Thought*? Extension, Divisibility, Locality, Figure, Magnitude, Motion (which are the things that appertain to a Bodily Substance) are wholly foreign to Cogitation. There is a vast Disproportion between them, they are of a quite different nature, and consequently there is nothing of the same. Idea and Conception in them. Hence we cannot but infer that *Material Beings* are not *Thinking* and *Intelligent*, yea, that it is impossible they should be. And hence we see how *unphilosophical* our Great Modern *Sadducee* is, who asserts that * Cogitation is a *Mode* of Bodies.

If it be such, that is, if it be a *Mode* of Bodies as they are Bodies, then it will follow thence that *All* Bodies think, which yet our Adversaries themselves do not own, but very zealously explode. If it belongs to *some* Bodies only, then the Finest and most Agile without doubt must be of that number, and consequently the *Sun* and *Stars* must Think, and where ever there are very *Subtile Particles* there must be *Rationality*, which the meanest Smat-

* Mr. Hobbs in his *Leviathan*, cap. 2.

terer in Natural Philosophy is able to confute from abundance of Instances in the Body of Man, and in the System of the World. And the Reason is plain, for it is not the Subtilty and Minuteness of the parts of Matter that alter the nature and essence of it; it is not the Fineness of it that can make it Think, because it is of its own nature Insensible, Unactive, Inert and Sluggish. These (with those I mentioned before) are the Properties of the First Rank of Beings, *viz.* Matter or Bodies, and they are as demonstrable as any Proposition in *Euclid*.

The next Kind of Beings is *Spirits*. The word indeed is an Equivocal word, and sometimes is applied to the Subtilest and Finest parts of Matter. Such are the *Animal Spirits*, which are transmitted from the Brain through the Nerves to all parts of the Body. They are the immediate Instruments of the Soul, and the very Vehicle of it: and it is probable that the Physical Union of the Soul and Body is made by these. But they are no other than *Corporeal* Substances, for they are but the most Volatile parts of the Blood, or (if you will) the Quintessence of it. So among the *Chymists*, their *Essences* and *Spirits* are the finest and purest parts extracted from the gross Body.

But

But now I am speaking not after this loose manner, but properly and strictly, and by *Spirits* I mean the Second Rank of Substances, *viz.* those which are the *Reverse* of the Beings I spoke of before: they are Substances that are in all things contradistinguished from *Matter* and *Body*. First therefore, the nature of a *Spirit* consists in *Non-Extension*, which is a property contrary to *Matter*. A *Spirit* hath no bulk or quantity, and consequently hath no parts, and therefore is not capable of being Extended. This is the primary and radical notion of a *Spirit*. Again, this sort of Beings is such a Substance as is *Indivisible*: for having no parts, it is not possible it should admit of Division. Self-Unity is of the nature of a *Spirit*: it needs no *vinculum* to hold it together but its own Essence. Whence we infer that a *Spirit* is of its own nature *Indiscerpible* (as the Learned Dr. *More* expresses it:) it being void of all parts, it is incapable of being separated, and on that account is not liable to Dissolution, as *Matter* is. Further, it is its Property to have *no Figure* or *Shape*, for what is void of Quantity and Extension must needs be thus. Wherefore it was a fond and idle dream of the *Anthropomorphites* and others, that God or any Spiritual Substances have a Corporeal Similitude and Proportion.

Next, an Immaterial Being is *Penetrable*, it is able (if we may so say, for we have not words to express our selves in this Point) to dilate or contract it self, and to be in the same spaces with Matter, or with other Spirits, which a Corporeal Being is no ways capable of. Moreover, a Spirit is a *Self-active* Substance, and is endued with a Spontaneous motion or energy. An ability to put Matter or Body into motion or action, is of its very nature and essence. And indeed it was therefore created with this power by the All-wise Being, that it might actuate Material Beings, which are of themselves destitute of all inward life, motion and activity. Lastly, the nature of a Spirit is to be in some manner *Perceptive*, I say *in some manner*, for though all Incorporeal or Spiritual Substances, as such, in some sort perceive and apprehend, and therein are distinguish'd from Matter, yet there is a higher degree of this in some than in others. Those of an inferior rank have proportionably an inferior sort of *Perception*: but those of a superior order and classis, as Intellectual and Rational Beings, are indued with *Cogitation*, or some higher kind of Perceiving, which Brutes (a lower rank of *Spirits*) are not capable of.

I take it to be an Error to place the notion of *Spirits* wholly in *Thinking*, as some late Philosophers have done. They overlook other Essential Properties (of which I have spoken) belonging to the Incorporeal Nature, and imagine that to be the entire Essence of it which is but *one* Ingredient in it, and that in the Chief rank of Spirits only, *viz.* such as are Intellectual. It is a mistake therefore to think that it is the Essential Attribute of All kinds of Spirits: Nay, I may truly add, it is not an inseperable Property even in Humane Souls (which yet are most justly said to be *Thinking* Beings) for it is not probable that in the time of Sleeping they *always think*; though that they do *sometimes*, may be gathered from our Dreams: but how rare are these in some persons? And it is certain that many, when they are Awake, are not employ'd in *Actual Thinking*, for then they could give an account of their Thoughts, if they were at any time ask'd about them, which we see they can't possibly do. And this is experimented by the most Thoughtful Persons sometimes; they are able to attest this, that their Minds lye fallow for a short season, and they are wholly Unactive, and they are not able to give any account of their Thoughts. Yet for the most part they *actually think*; and

this is certain, that all *Intellectual Spirits* are capable of *Thinking*, and it is their peculiar Gift and Endowment to do so. But the Prime and Essential qualities of All Spirits (whether of a higher or a lower degree) are Indivisibility and Penetrability, with those other Properties before-named, which distinguish Immaterial and Spiritual Substances from those that are Corporal.

Thus you see what is the true nature of *Spirits*, and it appears that the notion of them is as intelligible as that of *Bodies*. Nay, from these latter we learn what the former are: for to be acquainted with the nature of a *Spirit*, there is no better way than to know what a *Body* or *Matter* is. *Epicurus*, as * *Laertius* represents him, was of another mind, *We can have no notion*, saith he, *of an Incorporeal thing, unless it be a Vacuum*. Herein he was followed by a certain Man of this Age, whom some call *Philosopher* (and he may be call'd so in the same sense that the *Scepticks* of old were, who contradicted the greatest part of Philosophy) signalizing himself by his stiff asserting that the Notion of a *Spirit* is a flat Contradiction, that the Existence of *Immaterial Substances* is incomprehensible. And we find this to be the sense of

* Οὐκ ἐστὶ νοῦσι τὸ ἀσώματον ὡλὸν τῷ κενῷ In *Epicuro*.

some others who pretend to more Wit and Sagacity than the rest of the World, a sort of Men who perswade themselves that they confute all those that they laugh at, and undertake by their Drolling genius to put all Religion, as well as Serious Philosophy, out of countenance. And what is the grand thing they alledge? This chiefly, that they can't comprehend the Idea of a *Spirit*. But I hope I have effectually (though very briefly) removed this Cavil, and shew'd that there is nothing difficult, much less absurd and contradictory in this Notion, as these *Somatists* and *Matter-men* have suggested. The conception we have of Incorporeal Beings is very plain, and accountable, the Idea of them is fair and obvious. And that there are *de facto* such Subsistencies is undeniably manifest from the Strange and Wonderful Operations that are in the World, which are above the capacity and strength of any Visible and Corporeal Creatures. These demonstrate that there are Beings which are distinct from Matter, because no bodily and material ones are capable of acting in that manner.

Having premised this, which may be sufficient to establish our belief of *Spiritual* and *Immaterial Substances*, and to give us an account of the *True Nature* of them, I will proceed in the next place to enumerate

merate the *Different Species* of them, and so approach closer to that *Distinction of Spirits* which our Divine Philosopher here suggests to us. *Spirits* may be divided into two General Classes. The first is of the *Supreme Being*, the Infinite, Uncreated, and Eternal Spirit, God blessed for ever. Therefore by way of Eminency it is said of him, *he is a Spirit*, 4 John 24. He is the Top and Head of all Immaterial Substances, and is justly stiled *the Father of Spirits*, 12 Heb. 9. More particularly he is said to be *the God of the spirits of all flesh*, 16 Numb. 22. i. e. of Humane Souls who are clothed with fleshly Bodies in this life. And he is the Fountain, Original, Source and Author of all other Incorporeal Beings; of which I proceed to speak distinctly.

The Second Class is then is that of *Finite and Created Spirits*; and these are of four Orders, which gradually differ from one another.

The First sort of Created and Finite Beings, that are Immaterial and Spiritual, is that of *Angels*. And these are of two kinds, either Good or Evil, as the very Gentile Philosophers acknowledg'd, for they tell us that these Spirits are * differenced according to their Vertue or their

* *Ἱεροὶ καὶ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δαίμονες ἀγροὶς διαποροῦναι καὶ κακίαι.*
Plutarch.

Wickedness. Of the former Classis are the Holy and Celestial Angels, who are expressly call'd *Spirits*, 104 *Psal.* 4. 1 *Heb.* 14. Of the latter are the Apostate and Infernal ones, who also in the stile of Scripture are call'd *Spirits*, 1 *Kings* 22. 1. 18 *Matth.* 16. 8 *Luke* 2. and 10.20.

The Second sort of Finite *Spirits* are the Souls of *Men*, for Man is an Incarnate Mind, and is compounded of Spirit as well as Flesh. These spiritual humane Substances may be considered either as they actuate the Body, and so they are properly call'd *Souls* : wherefore this term *nephesh* was at first applied to this part of Man, 2 *Gen.* 7. and so *ψυχή* 10 *Matth.* 28. where 'tis opposed to the other part of Man, his *Body*. Or, we may consider this excellent moiety of Man as it exerts the noble powers of Understanding and Will, and so it is known by the name of *Mind* : thus it is call'd *νῆς*, 7 *Rom.* 23, 25. sometimes *διάνοια*, as in 8 *Heb.* 10. and *νεφῆς* in several places. This better part of Man is the source of the Rational Life; by vertue of which self-active Principle he reasons and discourses, and therein surpasses those ranks of Finite *Spirits* which I shall afterwards name. Or, it may be considered as it is taking its leave of the Body, or as it is afterwards separated from it, and so we are wont in a
more

more particular and peculiar manner to give it the denomination of *Ghost* or *Spirit*. Thus 'tis said, Christ *yielded up the spirit or ghost*, 27 Matth. 50. And in this sense those words were uttered by St. Stephen, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*, 7 Acts 59. And we find that the separate Souls of the Saints are stiled *the spirits of just men made perfect*. Though these separate Spirits are also call'd *Souls*, 6 Rev. 9. and 20. 4. where we read of *the souls of them that were slain, and the souls of them that were beheaded*. But the general and most prevailing name of this Divine Part of Man (however it be considered) is *Spirit*. This is the Catholic Title, and the most significant, because it sets forth the nature of Souls, and distinguishes them from that other part which they are joyn'd with the *Flesh* or *Body*. Thus they are call'd *spirits*, as opposed to this part, 2 Jam. 26. *The body without the spirit is dead*. And in 1 Cor. 7. 3. the humane *body* and *spirit* are mention'd in contradistinction to one another. This latter is that which our Inspired Philosopher stiles here *the spirit of man*, or more accurately according to the Original, *the spirit of the children of men*, or of *the Sons of Adam*: and he gives this as the peculiar Character of it, that it *goes upwards*, that is, as he explains himself afterwards, *it returns unto God*.

God that gave it, 12 Eccl. 7. it is designed for Immortality.

The third degree of *Spirits* is that which belongs to *Brutes*, whereby they are enabled to display all the offices appertaining to the Animal Life. Sense and Perceptive Motion (which are Properties, as I have shew'd, that arise only from a *Spirit*) are Principles belonging to the nature of these Creatures, and they have Organs fitted for that purpose. Wherefore, whatever some late Philosophers have fancied, they are not wholly Material, but are endued with a Spontaneous Principle, as all their actions plainly discover. The style of Scripture (which in this case I value much) directs us here. It is observable that *nephesb hajah*, a living soul is applied to beasts, 1 Gen. 20. and again v. 30. for there are these two distinct words in the Original in both places, and therefore our *English* Translators have not rendred it right when they translate it only *life*. It should, according to the Hebrew, be translated, a soul of life, or a living soul. Now, this is the very same that is said of the formation of Man, 2 Gen. 7. *Man became a living soul*. Nay, further it is observable concerning the Soul of that sort of Creatures, that it is call'd *nishmath chajim*, the breath of life, 6 Gen. 17. and 7. 15. as well as Man's soul,

soul, 2 Gen. 7. And the word *ruach*, spirit, is applied to Brutes, 7 Gen. 22. where both the former word *nishmath* and this are used, *the breath of the spirit of life*. Wherefore we may justly reckon the Souls of Beasts among *Spirits*, though they are of a far lower and meaner sort than those of Angels and Men. For these souls of beasts have not the same sphere of Activity that those others are dignified with: their operation is not Thinking, but bare Perception or Sensation. And this is sufficient for them, and serves them well enough, because they were not made for higher purposes. Nevertheless this rank of Souls is Immaterial, and cannot be thought to be any other: wherefore it is positively and expressly call'd by our Inspired Author רוח הבהמה *the spirit of a beast*.

And it is by him distinguish'd from Angelical and Humane Souls by what he here adds, that *it goes downward to the earth*, that is, it is of a perishing condition, in respect of the other. As it is exceedingly inferior to it, in regard of its present Operations, so it is also in respect of what befalls it afterwards. If you ask *how* and in what manner it is disposed of at last, you are to remember that this nice query is caution'd against in the Wise Man's words when he saith, *Who knoweth the spirit of*
man,

man, &c. and the spirit of a beast, &c. that though it is certain, and beyond all dispute, that there are Rational Souls of Men, and there are Sensitive Souls of Brutes, yet it is a hard matter to tell and explain every thing concerning them. No Man of the greatest sagacity can give a particular account of the Ascent of the one, and of the Descent of the other. But if you must needs have an Answer to this Question, What becomes of the Souls of brute Animals after their death? I say it is probable that they either pass from one to another, or are Annihilated. I shall never meet with that Man that is able to disprove either of these, especially the latter, that the Souls of Beasts perish and are extinct. Which is the meaning of their *going downwards to the earth*, i. e. perishing as their Bodies, which lye rotting on the ground.

But there is a shrewd *Objection* that we must encounter, before we can hope to gain a full assent to these things. For it will be said, If Brutes have a Spiritual and Immaterial Principle or Soul, then they are Immortal, for the Doctrine of the Immateriality of Humane Souls is made use of to prove the Immortality of them: and therefore it is as forcible an Argument to evince the Immortality of the Souls of Beasts. Thus a late Writer thinks

thinks he hath said much to the purpose in these words, * *To suppose that mere Animals are a Compound of Matter and Spirit, is to ridicule all the Natural Arguments for Man's Immortality, by making them hold as strong for the Immortality of Brutes.* But this Gentleman is under a great and palpable mistake, as plausible as his arguing seems to be, which will appear from these two brief Replies to what he suggests.

First, The Argument for the Immortality of Humane Souls doth not, and cannot hold as strong for the Immortality of those of Beasts, because though they are both of them of a Spiritual and Immaterial Nature, yet there is a vast difference as to the *kinds of Spirits*. There are different Classes of Spiritual and Incorporeal Beings, and all are not alike: the contrary to which is supposed by this Author. But he should have remembered that all the several Properties which constitute a Consummate Spirit, are not to be found in a Spirit of a lower rank, such as that of Beasts. There are General Attributes that belong to all Spirits, both the Infinite One, and those that are finite; the Angelical, and the Humane, &c. but their other Attributes which appertain to some Spirits only, not to others. Wherefore

* *Phyfico-Theolog. Discourse. Letter. 3.*

it is vain and fallacious to argue from the Immortality of Men to that of other Inferior Animals, seeing these are different Classes of Spirits, and are not endued by Heaven with the same qualities.

Secondly, This is to be weighed, that though on some account the Immateriality of the Souls of Beasts makes them of a durable Nature, yet if we consider how it is with them as to other things, we can't make use of the Incorporeity of their Souls as an Argument to evince their Immortality. By *other things* I mean the life and actions of Brutes, which plainly shew that they are not design'd for a future life and state, for they give no evidences at all of it, but every thing they do is calculated wholly for this present duration, and hath no respect at all to a subsistence and enjoyment hereafter: and therefore Cogitation and Reason and Foresight are denied them, which are requisite towards such a state. Now, when we discern that it is thus with them, and that there is this vast difference between them and Rational Creatures, there is no ground to surmise that they shall survive the death of their Bodies, and that, though they consist of something spiritual as well as bodily, they shall enjoy an endless life: but we have good reason to believe and assert

the contrary. And the Argument for Man's Immortality, drawn from the Immateriality of his Soul, is so far from being *ridiculed* (as that Writer imagines) that it is confirm'd and establish'd: because it evidently appears that the Souls of Men, and of inferior Animals, are not of the same rank (though they agree in Immateriality) but are Spirits of a different Degree and Order.

Perhaps another Classis may be added; I say *perhaps*, for I am not positive and dogmatical. But I am very much inclin'd to believe that the last and lowest Classis of *Spirits* is that of *Vegetables*, which have only a Plastic life and energy. This Vegetative Life, which is the meanest of all, is stiled by some *the Spirit of the World*, by others *Seminal Forms*, which organize prepared Matter, and give life and vegetation: and some of the *Spagyric Art* give it the name of *Archæus*. But call it what you will, it seems to me to be Immaterial and Incorporeal, and that for this solid reason, because bare *Mechanism* is not able to effect that which is done by it. It is rational therefore to assert that Plants and Trees and Flowers are endued with a Spirit or Self active Principle: they have some kind of Inferior Soul to actuate them which is more than Material and Mechanical, though they are void of all Rational

Rational Perception. They are a rank of *Spirits* that have Self-motion without Cogitation or Consciousness, yea, without Sense and Feeling.

These are the several Orders and Species of *Spirits*, which I thought proper to mention here, that I might give you a true and impartial account of the *Kingdom of Spirits*, and that more particularly I might satisfy those who startle at the notion *Spirit* as 'tis applied to *Beasts*: which unless we grant, we can make no sense of *Solomon's* words here, and we can never solve the *Phænomena* that are incident to Brutes, and perhaps to Vegetables.

EXERCITATION IX.

The Gospel Sacraments
are mention'd in the
Old Testament.

7 CANTIC. 2.

*Thy navel is like a round gob-
let, that wanteth not liquor:
thy belly is like a heap of
wheat, set about with lilies.*

THE Sacraments of *Baptism* and of the *Eucharist* are Institutions so sacred and venerable, so solemn and remarkable, and of so great use in the Church, that it is no wonder that there is early mention of them, and that they are spoken of even in the Old Testament.

Some

Some have thought that the *bread* and *wine* which *Melchisedec* Priest of the most High God brought forth, 14 Gen. 18. are Emblems of the *Eucharist*, appointed by Christ the True *Melchisedec* our Great High-Priest, of whom the other was but a Type. There is no doubt that the two Sacraments of the Gospel were represented by the *brazen Laver* and the *Shew-bread* in the Tabernacle, and afterwards in the Temple. The former typified Baptism, which is call'd * *the Laver of Regeneration*, 3 Tit. 5. And the latter without controversie prefigured the holy Bread in the other Sacrament.

The Apostle tells us that when the *Israelites* passed through the *Red Sea*, and were under the *Cloud* in the Wilderness afterwards, they were baptized unto *Moses* in the cloud and in the sea, 1 Cor. 10. 1, 2. that is, those Miracles of the Cloud and passing through the Sea, were not only a kind of baptizing them into the belief of the Doctrine of *Moses*, but they were Types of our *Baptism*. So the *Manna*, which the *Israelites* fed on, represented Christ Jesus the Bread of Life, who is commemorated and received in the Lord's Supper. Therefore it is said in the fore-said Chapter, *They did all eat the same spi-*

* *lavacrum*. And so in 5 Eph. 26.

ritual meat, v. 3, 4. i. e. that food which signified and set forth something that is *spiritual*, namely, the spiritual Repast in the Holy Communion, Christ Jesus himself. For if the Apostle truly said in this Chapter concerning the *Rock* which furnish'd the *Israelites* with water, to quench their thirst, that *that rock was Christ*, that is, it signified Christ, who was to refresh the thirsty and languishing Souls of Men, then we may on as good ground say, *that Manna was Christ*.

And indeed every one that hath read the Apostles writings, and especially the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, will not be backward to make such an interpretation of the foregoing passages as I have propounded; for in these Writings we are acquainted that those remarkable things which happened to the People of God of old, and also their Rites and Ceremonies, and most of the Usages appertaining to the Temple, and their Priests and Sacrifices, represented and foretold the Spiritual and Divine Institutions which Christ Jesus was to be the Author of.

It is highly reasonable to believe that the *Bread and Wine which Wisdom furnishes her Table with*, and invites her Guests to, 9 *Prov. 5.* is the Word of the Living God, the standing Food of Souls, and the Ministration of the Sacrament of the
Lord's

Lord's Supper, where *Bread* and *Wine* in the very literal and simplest sense are set before us, and by which we are nourished unto everlasting life. This is the Provision that is made for us in *Wisdom's house*, that is, in the Church.

But to pass by these hints of the *Evan- gelical Sacraments* in the Old Testament, I will propound one place more in these Writings, and crave leave to offer my Conjecture about it. And where indeed is it more probable we should find the *Christian Mysteries* than in that Book which is it self Mystical and Sacramental, and according to the suffrage and joint Opinion of Expositors, treats of *Christ* the Bridegroom, and the *Church* his Spouse? It is the Book of *Canticles*, or *Solomon's Song* that doth this: and here, if I mistake not, the Two Sacraments used in the Christian Church are mention'd together, but in a Mystical and Obscure manner: for that is necessary to be premised before I enter upon the Text, that all things in the *Song* are deliver'd in a mysterious way. Figures every where present themselves to our view, Metaphors and Allegories make up the whole Composure of it. Under things external, bodily and ordinary are represented to us inward, spiritual and extraordinary matters: and 'tis very likely that the Great things of the *Gospel*, be-

ing signally of that nature, are set forth to us in this Excellent Song.

Having premised this, I will proceed to treat on the words themselves. The Sacrament of *Baptism* is, I conceive, meant in that first Clause, *Thy Navel is like a round Goblet that wanteth not liquor*. That is, the Church of Christ (for he is part of *her* Description) is never destitute of Spiritual Nourishment and Refreshment; no, not when the Members of it are weakest and feeblest. Even then they are supplied with convenient aid and help, and particularly, with the Grace of God, in the ministration of the Sacred Ordinance of *Baptism*. Which is very fitly and congruously represented in that expression *thy Navel*; for this Part in the Body serves for the conveying of Nourishment to the Infant whilst it is in the Womb, and accordingly doth rightly express the nature of *Baptism*, whereby Spiritual Nourishment is derived to Babes, even whilst they are so, in the womb of the Church. The Comparison or Resemblance here made use of is founded on a received Opinion in those times that the *Fœtus* receives its aliment, that is, the Mother's blood, by the Naval-string; as Fruits by their *Stalk* receive their Nourishment from the Tree. Though, 'tis true, the Modern Philosophers and Physicians have

other

other thoughts of this matter, and tell us that the *Embryo* in the Womb takes in no sustenance by the Navel, but is nourish'd by a Lacteal humour, in which it swims. But if I may be permitted to offer my sentiment in this case, I apprehend that these two Opinions are not inconsistent, for the *Embryo* may take in nourishment part by the *Navel*, and partly by the *Mouth*. The former is done when the *Umbilical Vessels* are perfectly framed and fix'd: the latter, whilst these Vessels are not yet form'd, and perfected for use; Nay, I see no reason to disbelieve that for the greatest part of the time that the *Fœtus* is in the Womb, it is nourish'd both these ways, as I have offer'd it to the Consideration of the Learned on a convenient * occasion.

But be this how it will, the Ancient Opinion was that the Child in the Womb received its sustenance by the *Umbilical Vessels*, and accordingly this part of *Solomon's* Prophetic Description of the *Christian Church* is very apposite and elegant. For when he would express her great Privilege and Happiness in enjoying the Sacrament of *Baptism*, he compares this to the office of the *Navel*: because as Infants in the Womb receive their Nutri-

* Demonstration of the Existence and Providence of God, &c. Part. 2. p. III, III2.

ment by the Navel, so Little Children in the Church have a peculiar way of nourishment convey'd to them by *Baptism*. What the *Navel* of the Child is as to the deriving of proper aliment, that is *Baptism* to the Children of Christian Parents. It is the Early Nourishment which God hath provided for them. There is Grace and Vertue exhibited in this Ordinance; Spiritual Sustenance is communicated through this Chancel.

Of this 'tis said very appositely here, and is further expressive of *Baptism*, *It wanteth not liquor*. What could be add more properly to denote the peculiar Nature of this Sacrament, which is the Laver of Regeneration? *It wants not liquor*, to set forth the Element of *Water* which is appointed to be made use of in this His Ordinance: and to set forth likewise the happy effects which accompany the Liquid Element, when God's Spirit attends it, namely, the Washing of the Soul, the Cleansing of it from Sin, and the Purifying of the Heart and Life. Thus you see how that Evangelical Institution is fitly shadow'd out by these Expressions.

And by the bye, here is a great Controversie solv'd, namely, between us and the *Anabaptists*, who are against the Baptizing of Children, because they are not come to years of Understanding. Let it be remembered,

remembered, from what is suggested to us here, that Infants (according to the Notion which prevail'd in those days) receive nourishment by the *Navel*, though they take not in any Food by the *Mouth*, yea though (according to the Opinion of those times) they do not so much as use their Mouths. So it is no good Objection against Baptizing Infants, that they are ignorant and understand not what they do, and that they are not able to take in the spiritual nourishment after the ordinary way: It may be done (as 'tis said here) by the *Navel*, by that Federal Knot or Link which ties them fast to their Christian and believing Parents; which according to the best Divines, is an unanswerable argument to prove the validity of Infant-Baptism: for they belong to the *Covenant*, as they are the off-spring of the Faithful, and thence are pronounced holy by the Apostle, 1 Cor. 7. 14. And here also, we see further the Congruity of the Expression here used by the Wise Man, for the use of the *Navel* is not only to convey Nutriment to the *Fœtus*, but to fasten the *Fœtus* to the Mother: which denotes that intimate Union and Conjunction with the Church of Christ, our Common Mother, that is made by the Baptismal Performance.

But

But I proceed to the next thing couch'd in the words, to wit, the other Sacrament, that of the *Lord's Supper*. Baptism was represented by the *liquid Navel* : and behold, how could this other Sacrament (which is call'd *breaking of Bread*) be better signified to us than by a *heap of Wheat*? The Holy Ghost is describing here in this Chapter in several Parts and Members of the Church, and therefore with reference to this Holy Sacrament, and the Churches partaking of it, and feeding on the Bread of Life, he puts this into the Description, *Thy belly is like a heap of wheat*. In the Original 'tis in the plural חטים *wheats*, which together with the word צרור *acervus* fully sets forth the Abundant and Ample Provision which is made for us at the *Lord's Table*, and the Abundant Nourishment which is imparted to us in the use of this Sacrament. Here we are brought to be intimately acquainted with the Mysteries of the Gospel, here our Faith is increased, and all our other Graces exercised; here all the Benefits and Privileges of the Gospel are assured to us, the Covenant made between God and us is renewed, the Pardon of our Sins is seal'd and confirm'd, and we feel the love of Jesus most vigorously extended to us: and moreover, the Bond of Love and Union between us and our Brethren is tied

yet

et faster than ever. These are the blessed Effects and Fruits of that Sacred and Divine Ordinance. It is true *Baptism*, as we heard before, affords a laudable Aliment: but the *Lord's Supper* yields a much Greater Nourishment and Strength. This is that which is suggested to us in those full and pregnant Expressions which are here used by the Holy Spirit.

It is very fitly added, with relation to this *heap of wheat*, that it is *set about with lilies*; it is as it were adorn'd with flowers that are sweet and fragrant, beautiful and graceful. The Lord's Table must not be set with *Weeds*, not environ'd with the prophane and scandalous, but with pure and faithful Christians, and worthy Communicants. None ought to partake of these Sacred Viands, but such as are of pure and clean hearts, and of sanctified lives. Here is no room for the lewd and wanton, for the intemperate, for the covetous, for the uncharitable, for the irreligious and prophane. And thus I have given you my Conjecture (for I tender it as no other) concerning this Passage in the *Canticles*. I do not love to hunt after *Allegories*, especially I do not affect them where a Text may admit of a Literal and Plain Interpretation: but this Divine Song being altogether *Allegorical* and *Mystical*,

mystical, my Exposition of the words may be the more candidly received : and it may not be thought wholly improbable, that a Penman of the Old Testament speaks of the Gospel Sacraments.

28 SEP 60

PART

PART II.
EXERCITATIONS
Critical, Historical, Theological
On certain P A S S A G E S in the
WRITINGS
OF THE
New Testament.

EXER.

PART II
EXERCITATIONS

Medical, Historical, & Geological



W. R. L. T. S.

OF THE

New Testament

1877

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EXERCITATION I.

Who are meant by Christ's
Brethren and Sisters.

13 M A T T H. 55, 56.

*Is not this the Carpenters son?
is not his mother called Ma-
ry? and his brethren James
and Joses, and Simon and
Judas? And his sisters are
they not all with us?*

BEFORE I enter upon the Main
thing, which is to enquire and shew
who are meant by Christ's *Brethren and
Sisters*, I will take notice of the foregoing
words in this Verse: which (as well as
those that follow) were spoken on pur-
pose

pose to reproach and disparage our Saviour. For when they thus say, *Is not this the Carpenters son? is not his mother called Mary?* they object to him his mean Condition, and his contemptible Parentage. His Father is a poor Tradesman, an ordinary Mechanic: and as for his other Parent, and his next Relations, who doth not know their Names? who hath not heard of them in this place, where he and they had their Education? (for now he was in *his own Country*, v. 54.) Have we not sometimes set his Father on work for us at his Trade? do not we converse every day with his nearest Relations and Kindred, and know them to be of ordinary Extraction, and consequently of no Learning and Improvements in Knowledge?

Whence then hath this man this wisdom and these mighty works? v. 54. In the Greek it is *διδαμεις*, and accordingly the words should be rendred thus, if we be exact, *Whence hath this man these powers?* namely, to say and do such strange things as we hear and see. Whence is he indued with such *virtue* and *force* as to discourse to us in so wonderful and surprizing a manner, and to perform things that are so miraculous and amazing? Wherefore because *διδαμεις* is the frequent term used to denote *Miracles*, (as we may satisfy our
selves

selves by consulting the * Sacred Writers)
 our English Translation (though it be not
 exact) is allowable, seeing *Miracles* and
mighty Works are the same. But whence
hath this man all these things? say his per-
 verse Country-men, v. 56. Though they
 had sufficient proof of his extraordinary
 Wisdom and Divinity, yet *they were offen-*
ded with him, v. 57. that is, they were
 discouraged from believing in him, and
 acknowledging his Divine Wisdom and
 Power, when they considered his mean and
 known Original. And we read that this
 very prejudice wrought upon them at o-
 ther times, *Is not this Jesus* (say they) *the*
son of Joseph, whose father and mother we
know? 6 John 42. We know they are
 both of them mean persons, and get their
 living by the work of their hands. As
 afterwards † *Celsus* upbraided the Christi-
 ans with this, that Christ's Mother was
Xegvllis, one that earnt her living by Spin-
 ning or Weaving. And thence she was
 call'd *quæstuaris*, as *Tertullian* (*Lib. de*
Spectac.) testifies. And again, *Is not this*
Josephs son? 4 Luke 22. Do not we of
Nazareth know well enough who is his
 Father? Is he not a plain honest Carpen-

* 7 Matth. 22. & 11. 20. & 13. 58. 6 Mark 2. 5. 10 Luke
 13. & 19. 37. 8 Acts 13. & 19. 11. 1 Cor. 12. 10.

† Vide Grot. Annot. in 13 Matth. 55.

ter? Was he not brought up in a poor private way? how then comes he to be thus qualified?

As our blessed Saviour is here stiled *the Carpenters son*, so in another place he is call'd *the Carpenter*, as in that parallel Text, 6 Mark 3. *Is not this the Carpenter?* And it is probable that herein they spoke what was Truth, though they spoke it out of ill-will and malice. It is likely he learnt and practis'd his Father's Trade, as an Apprentice or Journey-man. At least, he condescended to exercise himself sometimes in this Manual Occupation at home, when he was not employ'd in Religious Offices, and taken up with higher Matters. And this will not seem strange to those who have acquainted themselves with the customs and manners of those Eastern Countries, where it was usual even for persons of ingenuous Education, and of considerable Wealth, to gain some skill in Mechanic Exercises, and to spend some of their time in handycraft Employments: and this is an usage that prevails to this very day in those Countries.

But what *Particular Trade* or Employment was it that our Saviour and his reputed Father exercised themselves in? You will say, This is plain in the Text, It was the *Carpenters Trade*. But it seems it is not so plain but some have doubted of it,

yea,

yea, have positively asserted that the Original word *τεκτων* is to be rendred otherwise than we translate it. The word signifies a *Smith*, and is so understood and exprefs'd in the *Hebrew Gospel*, as we are told by *Ludovicus de Dieu*. The right Translation is, if you'l credit * *St. Hilary, faber ferrarius*, and he is of opinion that our Saviour was a *Smith*. *St. Jerom* hints the same, and *St. Ambrose* is of that persuasion: with whom the Venerable † *Bede* agrees. *Hugo* (as *Maldonat* tells us) not pleas'd with those who fix so coarse and sordid a Trade on our Lord, makes him a *Goldsmith*.

But we are not to be decided by what this or that Writer thinks in this matter, but we are to be guided by the true sense of the *Greek* word which is here used. Wherefore that we may have a right understanding of it, I think the best way will be to enquire what is the most frequent acception of it in the *Septuagints* Translation. For I take this to be a very good and useful Rule, that we ought to examine the Words and Expressions of the *New Testament* (when there is any doubt and dispute about them) by the same which occurs in the *Old Testament*: for the Penmen of the former were well vers'd

* Comment. in S. Matth. Can. 14.

† In cap. 3. S. Marci.

in the latter, and (as some very Learned Criticks have observ'd) made use of the LXX's words, and particular way of speaking in many places. We are to know then, that the Greek word τέχνη answers to the Hebrew one מְרָאשׁ, and is always the word by which the Greek Interpreters translate this latter. So that by having a right notion of this word, as it is interpreted by these Jewish Writers, we shall be able to arrive to the true meaning of τέχνη in this place.

The word *charash* then is either of a large, or a restrained sense. The large and general notion of this Hebrew noun is *opifex, operarius, artifex*. And so τέχνη (and sometimes the word τέχνης is used by the LXX) in general signifies a *work-man, an artificer, a crafts-man*, he that makes and frames any thing out of any materials. Thus in 2 Kings 24. 12. the Hebrew word is rendred by the Septuagint τέχνη, and is rightly translated by us a *crafts-man*. In 27 Dent. 15. τέχνης is the word that it is interpreted by, and is *crafts-man* in our English Translation. So τέχνες is the word for *charashim* in the plural, 1 Chron. 4. 14. which is rendred *crafts-men*. Ἀρχιτέχνη and τέχνη are the words for *charashim* in 3 Isai. 3. 1 Chron. 29. 5. and the general name of *Artificers* is that which our Eng-

lish Translators use there. And so *charash* is rendred *τέκτων* by the Septuagint, and *workman* in our Translation, in 40 *Isai.* 19, 20. This is the General and Comprehensive acception of the words *charash* and *τέκτων* in the Hebrew and in the LXX's Version: they signifie any Handy-craft-man, any Artisan or Mechanic worker.

And in Prophane Authors there is the like large acception of the word *τέκτων*, as we learn from *Suidas* and *Hesychius*, and the best Greek Authors themselves; who make use of this word for any sort of Mechanic Artist. The *Latins* use the word *faber* much after the same manner, that is, for any sort of workman or artificer. It comprehends those that work in Iron, Wood, Brass, Stone, Gold or Silver. For he that is a workman in any hard Materials, and uses a Hammer in his working, hath in Latin Authors the name of *faber* attributed to him.

But as *charash* and *τέκτων* are large words, so some times they are limited and streightened, and are particularly and specially taken for those that distinctly work either in Gold or Brass, or Iron or Stone, or Wood, and work in one of these only. Thus in 10 *Jer.* 9. though *charash* be rendred a *workman*, yet it manifestly refers to a *Founder of Gold* or a *Goldsmith*,

χρυσόχ⁶ in the LXX. So 'tis rendred a *workman*, 7 Hof. 6. but relates to a *Founder and Goldsmith*. In 2 Sam. 5. 11. it is meant of a *Stone-cutter* or *Mason*, which is plain from the addition of a word to restrain the sense. You read there of *Charashe eben*, τέκτονες λίθων according to the *Seventy*, *Workers in Stone*, *Masons*, as we properly english it. So in 1 Chron. 22. 15. where the Hebrew is *charashim*, but the *Greek* Interpreters render it οἰκοδόμοι λίθων. In another place the word is translated an *Engraver*, 28 Exod. 11. meaning an *Engraver in Stone*, whence the *Greek* Translation (referring to the Art rather than the Artist) is λιθοργικὴ τέχνη.

But it may cause admiration that the same Hebrew word in 35 Exod. 35. (which also we render *Engraver*) is by those Translators rendred ἀγ⁶. It is true, this may seem strange to those that are strangers to the frequent slips and mistakes of these men: but those that are acquainted with their failings of that nature (and all are so that narrowly study their Version, and compare it with the Hebrew Original) cannot wonder at it. It is (as I have shew'd in several * Instances) one cause of the disagreement between the Hebrew and *Seventy's* Version, that these latter

* In the Discourse of the Excellency and Perfection of Scripture. p. 496, 497, 498.

mistook one Consonant for another : and this is the cause here in the Text that is before us. *Resh* was taken for a *daleth*, they being alike in shape : and *Coph* for a *Cheth*. So instead of *שרן* they read it *קר* : as 'tis most certain that those Jews either wilfully or carelessly mistook several words in the Bible, and accordingly translated them amiss : of which I have given some Account on another occasion.

Sometimes *charash* is rendred *χαλκός*, a *Brasier*, or a *Worker in Brass*, by these Interpreters, as in 54 *Isai.* 16. but our Translators render it a *Smith*, which the words following did fairly invite them to, *who bloweth the coals in the fire, &c.* And they had reason to do so in 1 *Sam.* 13.19. where the LXX's *τεχνων σιδερε*, as well as the Subject-matter, leads to it, v. 20,21. And so in 44 *Isai.* 12. *charash barzel, faber ferri* could not be otherwise rendred. Thus we see though *charash* and *τεχνων* be General words, yet they admit of a Limitation.

But of all the acceptions and readings of the words in the limited sense, there is none so frequent and so indubitable as that of *Carpenter*. Thus, though in 10 *Jer.* 3. *charash* (*τεχνων* in the Greek Version) be translated a *workman*, yet 'tis spoken of a *Carpenter*, and therefore the place should thus be english'd, *One cutteth a tree out of the forest, the work of the Carpenter*

penter with the axe, that is, for the Carpenter to exercise his handy-work on it with the Axe. The Hebrew and Greek word is rightly rendred *Carpenter* in 41 *Isai.* 7. and in 44. 13. So in the plural number *charashim* and τέκτονες are translated *Carpenters*, 2 *Kings* 22. 6. and in 2 *Chron.* 24. 12. and again 3 *Ezra* 7. also in 1 *Zech.* 20. In all these places, where those words occur alone and without addition, the clear and evident rendring of them is *Carpenters*. And when they are coupled with other words, this signification then likewise is more manifestly and apparently declared, as in 2 *Sam.* 5. 11. *charashe gnetz*, τέκτονες ξύλων in the LXX, are *Carpenters*. And so in 1 *Chron.* 22. 15. 'tis *Workers of Timber*, in the margin *Carpenters*. And in 2 *Chron.* 24. 12. *charashim* is rendred *Carpenters*, to distinguish them from *carashe barzel*, such as wrought iron; we render it *Smiths*. And in 44 *Isai.* 13. *charash gnetzim*, *faber lignorum*, in the LXX barely τέκτων.

Thus by the conduct of the Hebrew word joyn'd with the Greek one, we have attain'd to the most probable interpretation of the word τέκτων in the place we are now treating of: for, though it be sometimes taken in a latitude, and also diversly restrain'd, yet we find that it is most usually applied to one that *works in wood*

wood and timber, that is, a Carpenter. More especially it is confined to this signification when it occurs alone, without any addition. Which might moreover be prov'd from a great number of good and approved Authors among the Gentiles both in Prose and Verse. There is reason therefore, notwithstanding the general notion of the word τέκτων, and the more particular import of it sometimes, to allow of our English Translation, it being according to the most genuine, as well as the most receiv'd, acception of the word.

I might add that the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Version renders the word so here. And *Josephus* the Learned Jew, testifies that that was our Saviour's Employment. And besides, it is back'd with the approbation of the most Learned Christian Fathers, as *Justin Martyr*, *St. Chrysostom*, *Basil the Great*, and most of the Primitive Writers. And that it was the general belief of the Ancient Christians, that *Joseph* and his reputed Son *Jesus* were of this Profession and Trade, appears from what was replied by a Christian in *Julian's* days to a Pagan that ask'd him, in way of reproach, what the Carpenter's Son (meaning *Christ*) was doing: he is making a Coffin, said he, for that Apostate Emperor. For that was part of the work and employment

ployment of a *Carpenter*, as it is of a *Joiner* at this day among us.

It may be conjectured that our Saviour himself alludes to this Occupation, when he uses that expression 3 *Matth.* 10. *Now the axe is laid unto the root of the tree.* And perhaps some metaphors and similitudes taken from * *building of houses* were occasioned by glances on his Calling. For it is not to be question'd, that he who in his Discourses and Parables referr'd to other usual and familiar things so often, had some allusions to his own Profession sometimes. † One of the ancientest Writers of the Church, whom I had occasion to name before, relates that our Saviour, as he was a Country-Carpenter, made Yokes and Ploughs, and other Instruments of Husbandry. If it were so, what some have said is not improbable, that Christ alluded to this in 11 *Matth.* 29. *Take my yoke upon you*; and in 9 *Luke* 62. where the *Plough* is spoken of. As I said before, so I say here, seeing our Blessed Lord made so many allusions to other mens Callings, and particularly to his Disciples employment, that of *Fishers*, it is not improbable that he did at one time or other refer to his own Calling of a *Carpenter*.

* 7 *Mat.* 24, 25, &c. 16 *Mat.* 19. 14 *Mark* 38. 6 *Luke* 48, 49. 14 *Luke* 28, 29, 30. † *Justin. Mart. Dialog. cum Tryph.*

But dismissing these Conjectures, that which I am chiefly to insist upon, is that Christ is here said to have *Brethren*. And in four Verses together of the foregoing Chapter of this Evangelist, viz. 46, 47, 48, 49 verses, we read of Christ's *brethren*. And in 6 Mark 3. he is said to be *the brother of James and Joses, and of Judas and Simon*. Where by the way I might direct to an emendation of that name *Judas*, which in this Text is got into our *English* Copies; whereas it should be *Judas*, as 'tis in the Text which I'm now expounding, and as it is in the ancient *English* Versions of that place in *St. Mark*. Or rather, it ought to be in both *Jude*, not only to distinguish the name by this means from that of *Judas* the Traitor, but to shew that it is the same with that in the *Epistle of Jude*. It is not fitting to represent the same Proper Names differently, as *Timotheus* and *Timothy*, and others in our Translation, which fault I have taken notice of heretofore. The same Names in *Scripture*, ought to be rendred in the same manner, otherwise mistakes may arise thence in time. But this by the bye.

The thing we are concern'd at present to take notice of, is that the Evangelists acquaint us that our Saviour had *brethren* and *sisters* according to the flesh. Nay, not

not only the Evangelists but the Great Apostle lets us know, that *James* was the *Lords brother*, 1 Gal. 19. whence ἀδελφός was the Epithet given to him by some of the * Greek Writers.

Now the question is, whether this *James* and the rest were call'd *brethren*, and so likewise whether his *sisters* had that appellation in a proper and strict sense, that is, whether they were the Sons and Daughters of Christ's Father or Mother, or whether they are to be understood in a large signification, as *brethren* and *sisters* import *kindred*. I will briefly consider the several distinct Opinions.

First, It was the perswasion of most of the Ancients, that these *brethren* and *sisters* were the Sons and Daughters that *Joseph* had by a deceased Wife. Again, there are those that think that these *brethren* and *sisters* were Children that *Joseph* had by his Wife *Mary*, after Christ's birth. There is a third Opinion, and that is, that Christ's Brethren and Sisters were no more than his near *Relations* and *Kindred*.

I. Some think they were the Sons and Daughters of *Joseph*, whom he had by a Wife before he was espoused to the Virgin *Mary*. † *Epiphanius* positively tells us, that

* Johan. Nicen. Nicet. Paplago, &c. † Hæref. 78.

Christ's *brethren*, whom we read of in the New Testament, were *Joseph's* Children by a former Wife. The like say *Eusebius* and *Theophylact*, and all the Writers of the Greek Church except *Origen*, who tells us this was a false Report, and taken from some counterfeit Writers, as *Grotius* saith of him. All the rest hold that *Joseph* had Issue before he was espoused to the Virgin: and then, as he was reputed and call'd Christ's *Father*, so *they* might be accounted and call'd his *brethren*. Some of the Latin Fathers taught the same, especially *Hilary* and *Ambrose*. But though this Assertion be credited and authorized by the suffrage of many of the Christian Writers, yet when we come to search into it, we do not find that there is any foundation for it in Authentic History. It is likely that some well-meaning Christians, to reply to the Cavils of those that were no well-willers to Christianity, first made use of this Report: and others borrowed it from them, and so it grew into vogue. But there seems not to be any solid ground for this opinion: and therefore St. *Jerom*, one of the Ancientest and Learnedst of the Fathers, opposes this with great earnestness, and looks upon it as very precarious and groundless. He holds *Joseph* to have lived in a Virgin-

Virgin-state, and * *Baronius* is of his side; they will not indure to hear of *Joseph's* burying a former Wife, and being a Widower when he came to cohabit with the Blessed Virgin. And truly it might piously be thought that *Mary* being a Virgin, the person whom she would accept of to dwell with her was in the like state of purity also. *Joseph's* Children then that he is fancied to have had by a Wife before, are not the persons that are here call'd Christ's *brethren* and *sisters*.

II. Others hold that Christ's *brethren* were the Sons of the Virgin *Mary*, whom she had by *Joseph*, after the birth of Christ. This was the judgment of *Tertullian*, if *Helvidius* may be credited, who quotes him for it. But 'tis certain that *Helvidius* himself was a stiff asserter and defender of this Opinion, and from him were the *Helvidians* and *Antidicomarianitæ*, who with him maintain'd that *Mary* was married to *Joseph* after Christ's birth, and had Children by him. But *Epiphanius* and *Jerom* with many and long Arguments confute this; the first in a large *Epistle*, the second in a particular *Book* against *Helvidius*. And other Writers of the Church, as *St. Ambrose*, *Augustin*, *Basil*

* In Apparat.

go the same way, and defend the perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary. The Arguments which the *Helvidians* used to prove that Mary had Children by her Husband *Joseph*, were these two especially.

First, Christ is call'd the Virgins *first-born son*, 1 Matth. 25. therefore she had Children afterwards, for there can't be a *first* without a *second* or *more* after the first. But there is no strength in this way of Arguing; for among the *Hebrews* the first child that a woman brings forth is called *becor*, the *first-born*, whether any other be born after it or not. So that when our Saviour, in the forenamed place, is stiled the *first-born son*, it is not said, or to be understood as if the Blessed Virgin had any Children after him, but he is call'd the *first-born* of his Mother, because she had no Children before him. Thus he was both *Primogenitus* and *Unigenitus*, her *first* and her *only* Son. And so the word was understood under the Law, signifying the first Child that was born, and not referring in the least to any succeeding Issue. So those words are to be taken 13 Exod. 2. *Sanctifie unto me all the first-born: whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of men and beast, it is mine.* It is the opening of the womb at first that gives denomination to the *first-born*. And it was this that

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gave the claim of Redemption, as we read in 18 Numb. 15. *The first-born of every man shalt thou surely redeem*, i.e. thou shalt pay a certain price to the Priest for him; which was done whether another Man-child was born afterwards or no. But if none were the *first-born* but such as had Brethren afterwards, then no first-born could be redeemed till their Mothers were delivered of another Male-child: which was wholly against the prescription and practise of the Law. Therefore we may collect hence, that the *opening of the matrix* determines the *first-born*: and consequently, from the Evangelist's saying that *Mary brought forth her first-born son*, it can only be gather'd that she had no Child before, not that she had any after. And therefore the *Helvidian* notion that the *Brethren* of Christ were Children that *Mary* had by *Joseph* after Christ was born, cannot be grounded on that Text.

A second Argument used by them was from the same Text, the former part of it, *Joseph knew her not till she had brought forth*, &c. When it is said, he knew her not till, it is implied that he knew her afterwards, and consequently might have Children by her. This is their arguing; but if we consult the stile of the Holy Scripture, we shall find that there is no good Consequence in it, because there is not always

ways

ways that force and meaning of the word till in the Sacred Writings. Thus in 8 Gen. 7. *He sent forth a raven which went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from the earth*, the meaning of *until* is not that the Raven returned into the Ark when the Flood was exhausted: but it signifies that she return'd not before it was dried up, yea, that she return'd not at all. Suidas takes notice of this Instance, only mistaking the Dove for the Raven, and saith it return'd not to Noah till the earth was dried, that is, *εἰς τὸ πᾶσι λῆξιν ἐν ἀνέσει*, it never return'd, and takes notice of other Instances in Scripture where *ἕως* is * thus to be understood. When God said to the Patriarch Jacob, *I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of*, 18 Gen. 15. who would infer thence that the Almighty intended to leave that holy Man after he had done that which he had spoken to him of? It is said 1 Sam. 15. 35. *Samuel came no more to see Saul till the day of his death*, but who is so silly as to infer thence that Samuel came to visit Saul after his death? So the word is taken in 2 Sam. 6. 23. and so in the New Testament, 5 Matth. 26. *till thou hast paid the utmost farthing*, i. e. never. Thus here, *he knew her not till, &c.*

* *ἕως* παρὰ τῆς γὰρ ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ. Suid. in verbo *ἕως*.

it signifies that he knew her not before she had brought forth the holy Babe Jesus, yea, that he knew her not at all. Thus we see what is the import of the Hebrew *gund* and the Greek *ἔως* in several places of the Sacred Volume, and in this before us. It denotes that such a thing was done at such a time, but not that the contrary was done, or should be done after that time, but rather that it shall never be done: and therefore the *Helvidians* can draw no Argument from this Text.

But this I think may be truly said, that though these Allegations cannot be managed to prove the thing which the *Helvidians* design and aim at, yet I conceive they do not absolutely evince the contrary, and argue the impossibility of the Virgin's having Children afterwards, nor the utter Improbability of it. For I'm well assured that this (as well as some other opinions and practises among the Ancients) was founded on too high and superstitious an esteem of *Virginity*, which prevail'd with the Ancient Fathers. They strangely valued it, and themselves upon it, to a great excess, even to the vilifying of the other state, though we are taught by St. Paul, that it is a representation of the Union betwixt Christ and his Church: and * our Church honours it

* In the Form of the Solemnization of Matrimony.

with the title of *Holy Matrimony*, and a *holy Estate*. Some of the Ancients reckon'd Celibacy as holy in it self, and some of them looked upon Wedlock as prophane, and all Conjugal Acts as no less: hence they imagin'd that the Virgin's womb would have been defiled and unhallowed by bearing a Child that was the fruit of Marriage and Procreation. As her Body was consecrated by the Conception of the Holy Jesus, so they thought it would be prophaned by bringing forth any other off-spring. This was the rise, it is probable, of their so warmly defending the Perpetual Virginity of the Mother of our Lord. But on the other side, there is no proof at all that she had any Children after the Nativity of our Saviour, and therefore the assertion of *Helvidius* is of no validity. And seeing we are able otherwise to give a good account of those Texts which mention Christ's *brethren*, I think it is best to acquiesce in the Opinion of those Ancient Christians, and of all Good Men in after-ages, who held that the Blessed *Mary* continued a Virgin, and never bore any Children. I pass therefore to the

III^d Opinion, that is, of those who hold that by Christ's *Brethren* are meant his *near Relations* and *Kindred*. To establish

blish which it is sufficient to take notice that it is according to the phrase and idiom of the *Hebrews* to call those *brethren* and *sisters*, who have not the same common Parents, but only are of the same stock and race, especially if they be very near allied. Thus *Lot*, who was *Abraham's* Nephew, is call'd his *brother*, 12 *Gen.* 8. and so *Laban* is call'd *Jacob's brother*, 29 *Gen.* 15. though he was his Uncle. *Thy brethren, and the men of thy kindred* are terms convertible, 11 *Ezek.* 15. *Brethren* and *Kinsmen* are mention'd as synonymous, 9 *Rom.* 3. And from other Instances, and from the language of the *Jewish* Writers, it is evident that those that are near a-kin are call'd *brethren* by the *Jews*. And among the *Latins* the word *frater* is used so sometimes, as in *Ovid* (as well as in other Writers) where *Achilles* is call'd the *brother* of *Ajax*, though he was but his *first-cousin*, as some Critics have observ'd. Thus *James* and *Joses*, *Simon* and *Judas* were *Christ's brethren*, that is, his near *Kinsfolks*. For the word *brethren* signifies not only Fraternity, but Consanguinity and Affinity. It is enough then that those persons were allied to the *Virgin Mary*. This generally is the Answer of the *Latin Church*: more particularly *St. Augustine* and *St. Jerom* have discovered that they approved of this Interpretation.

terpretation. And the * former of these declares his judgment to be that Christ's brethren were his near Relations by his Mothers side.

But that which gives us the greatest Satisfaction is this, that we learn from the Sacred Writings themselves what particular relation these brethren, whom we read of, had to Christ. The Evangelists inform us that James and Joses, and Simon and Judas were the Virgin Mary's sisters sons: for St. John tells us that Mary of Cleophas (as the Greek hath it:) but our Translators render it *the wife of Cleophas*: but perhaps more truly it should be *the daughter of Cleophas*, according to the Arabic Version: and Grotius holds that Cleophas was the Father of that Mary, and Alphaeus her Husband, and was the Virgin Mary's sister, 19 John 25. And both St. Matthew 27 chap. 56 v. and St. Mark 15 chap. 40 v. acquaint us that the said sister Mary was *the mother of James and Joses*. And that the Mary mention'd by St. John and by the other Evangelists is the same, is clear, because it appears from 61 v. of the foresaid Chapter of Matthew, that there were no more then two Maries, besides the Mother of our Lord, who follow'd Christ to the Cross.

* Tractat. 28. in Johan.

So then it is manifest that *James* and *Joses* were our Saviour's *brethren*, that is, Sons of *Mary* the Wife or Daughter of *Cleophas*, which *Mary* was the Virgin *Mary*'s sister. And so * *Theodoret* saith particularly of *James* (one of Christ's brethren) that he was the Son of this *Mary*, who was Christ's Aunt by the Mothers side : and he tells us that he was call'd Christ's brother, because he was his near Kinsman, his Cousin German. We are then assured of the Truth of this last Interpretation, from what the Evangelical Records themselves suggest to us. And from what is there delivered we have reason to believe that Christ's *brethren*, spoken of in the New Testament, were the Children of that other *Mary*, the Virgin's sister, and consequently were the Virgin's *Nephews* ; and likewise that his *sisters* were that *Mary*'s daughters, and the Virgin's *Nieces*, or at least near *Kinswomen* by his Mother's side. These in a large way of speaking were Christ's *brethren* and *sisters* ; according to the *Jews* manner of expressing themselves they are so call'd.

There is an *Objection* which I have sometimes started to my self, (for I do not know that any other hath made use

* In 1. cap. ad Galat. v. 19.

of it) and I have thought there was some weight in it. I confess it once seem'd to me very accountable to understand *brethren* and *sisters* in the Text in the strict and proper sense: and my Reason was this, because we find them here in conjunction with the term *Mother*, which word is acknowledg'd by all to be understood in the strictest meaning, that is, for a Natural Parent: and therefore I was enclined to think that the other terms of Relation ought to be understood so too, that is, strictly and properly. Especially I was apt to favour this Interpretation, when I observed that all these terms are expresly mention'd in other places of the Evangelists. We read in 12 Matth. 46. that Christ's *mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him*: and in the next verse, *Behold, thy mother and thy brethren, &c.* And again, *Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?* And in the next verse, *Behold my mother and my brethren.* And once more, *The same is (i. e. is as near and dear to me as) my brother, and sister and mother.* Here we see that in five Verses together *mother* and *brother* and *brethren*, (and in one of them *sisters*) are joyn'd together, without any variation of terms, to shew us that as *mother*, so *brethren* and *sisters* are to be taken in a proper sense, that

that is, as *mother* signifies a natural mother, so by *brethren* and *sisters* are meant natural brethren and sisters. If this were not intended here, it is likely that the terms would have been alter'd in some of these verses, and instead of *brethren*, either the Evangelist, who relates the passage, v. 46. or the person who spoke to our Saviour, v. 47. or our Saviour himself, who speaks in the three next verses, would have used another word or expression, *i. e.* instead of *brethren* or *sisters*, he would have said *kinsmen* or *kinswomen*. But we see there is no such thing: which seems to intimate that the words are to be taken in a proper sense. And we may observe that this whole passage is related in the very same manner, not only by St. *Matthew*, but St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*: yea, the latter uses the terms *mother*, *brethren*, *sisters*; and the other two *mother* and *brethren*, not at all changing them for any other words. And Christ's *mother* and *brethren* are mention'd by St. *John* also, 2 chap. 12 v. This punctual Harmony of the very same individual words is a sign that they are properly used by the Evangelists.

But upon a more accurate scanning of the matter, I perceived that this *Objection* is more plausible than solid: and this threefold Answer may be briefly return'd to it,

1. It

1. It is not at all necessary that the word *brethren*, because it is joyn'd with words of a proper Relation, as *mother* or *father*, should be taken strictly and properly. For the strict acception of one word doth not infer that another, which is coupled with it, must be so understood. The word it self *father* is taken in a double sense in the very same verse, 23 *Matth.* 9. And when *father* and *mother* are both mention'd together in 6 *John* 39. they are differently used, the one for a reputed Parent only, and the other for a true and natural Mother. No Man will be so ridiculous as to say that *brethren* and *fathers*, though they be generally two words of *Relation*, are to be taken so in 7 *Acts* 2. and 22. 1. And the reason is plain, because those words (as many others) are sometimes applied in Scripture in a large signification, and at other times in a restrained and limited one.

2. The *repeating* of the same terms in Scripture, and that in different Evangelists, doth not shew that those terms are used in the strictest sense. For the *repetition* was not intended to be a sign of the Propriety of the words, but of the Truth and Certainty of them, or rather of the things signified by them. Wherefore 'tis weakly argued, such a word or expression is used and reiterated in all the Evangelists,

gelists, therefore it must needs be interpreted in the strictest meaning of it. The agreement of the Sacred Writers in such and such individual words, as for example, in the Case before us, when they jointly mention Christs *brethren* and *sisters*, is an Argument that these were received terms, and in common use among the *Jews*; otherwise these different Penmen would not so unaniously have fallen into the use of them: but if you carry the Argument further, you lose the strength of it. Let it suffice then that the *Jews* ordinarily, and consequently the *Evan-gelists*, according to the idiom of their language, used the words *brethren* and *sisters* for near Relations and Kindred. But let us not strain the words so far as to endeavour to prove from them that Christ had brethren and sisters in the strictest sense of these words.

3dly and lastly, This is to be observ'd (which gave me great satisfaction when I was weighing the Opinions of Authors about this Text) that though we frequently read in the New Testament of Christ's *brethren* and *sisters*, yet they are no where call'd the *sons* or *daughters* of *his mother*, or of *his father*; which it is most probable they would have been, in one or other of those Texts where they are spoken of, if they had been the natural bre-

brethren and sisters of our Saviour. This, over and above what hath been suggested before, may invite us to entertain this perswasion, that our Saviour's *brethren* and *sisters* so often mention'd, were only his Near Relations, and particularly his Cousin-Germans or First-Cousins.

EXER-

EXERCITATION II.

Some Remarkable Circumstances which attended our Saviour's Crucifixion. More particularly the *kinds of Drink*, that were offer'd to him at that time, are enquired into.

27 MATTH. 32, 33, 34, &c.

Verse 32. **A**ND as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear his cross. This refers to the foregoing Verse, where we are told that the Roman Soldiers and the Rabble led Jesus away (namely, out of the Judgment-hall) to

crucifie

on 27 Matth. 32, 33, 34, &c. 173

crucifie him : and as they came out, and were proceeding in their way to the place of Execution, they laid hands upon one *Simon*, and forced him to bear his part of the Cross, which was found to be too heavy for our Saviour's weak and wounded shoulders. For we are inform'd from the Evangelical Records that Christ himself first attempted to carry it ; 'tis said expressly, *he bearing his cross went forth*, 19 *John* 17. Which was according to the practice then in use among the *Romans* ; for not only the Slaves that were taken in a lesser fault, were led up and down with the Instrument of their Punishment on their shoulders, and thence were call'd *Furciferi*, but the greater Criminals among them were wont to bear their Gallows. And more particularly, as for those that were condemned to be *crucified*, it was the custom (as is abundantly proved by * *Lipsius*) to make them carry their Cross to the place of Execution. Accordingly, the Cross was laid on our Saviour's shoulders ; but he was presently tired, and not able to carry it any further. When he came to the Gates of *Jerusalem*, he sunk under the weight of it ; wherefore, to make the greater haste, the Souldiers took the Cross off of his shoulders, and laid it

* De Cruce l. 2. c. 5.

upon

upon *Simon* the *Cyrenian*; or rather, they divided the burden between them, forcing Christ to bear one part, that is, one end of it, and *Simon* (who perhaps was the first strong-limb'd man they met with) to sustain the other.

This will easily gain belief, if we peruse St. *Luke's* account of this part of the History of Christ's Sufferings, who tells us that *as they lead Christ away, they laid hold upon one Simon a Cyrenian, coming out of the country, and on him they laid the Cross, that he might bear it after Jesus*, 23 *Luke* 26. ὁποδεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, behind *Jesus*, or at his back, for that is the true import of the word in all the Greek Authors, and we have plain Examples of it in the New Testament, 9 *Matth.* 26. and 15. 23. 8 *Luke* 44. This *Simon* then was placed behind our Saviour, to help him to bear up the Cross, it being too ponderous for him alone: but this *Simon* being a robust and lusty man, was made choice of by the *Roman* Souldiers to undertake this work, that is, to uphold and carry the weightiest part of the Cross, I imbrace this Interpretation, because it reconciles the two Evangelists St. *Matthew* and St. *John*, and without it I do not see how they can fairly be reconciled; for the former asserts that a man of *Cyrene* bore Christ's Cross; and the latter affirms that

Christ

Christ himself bore his Cross. Now, St. Luke comes, and solves both by letting us know that the *Cyrenian* bore the Cross after Jesus, that is, both Jesus and he carried it, the one the fore-part, and the other the hinder part, and so they advanced with it to Mount *Calvary*, as the Evangelists testify.

Ver. 33. *And when they were come unto a place call'd Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a scull.* Which words are a plain Confirmation of what I offer'd, namely, that both *Christ* and *Simon* carried the Cross on which the former was crucified, for the word *ἐλθόντες* refers to both these, who were mention'd in the Verse immediately foregoing. I know it is otherwise thought by all Expositors, for they tell us that *ἐλθόντες* refers to the *Souldiers of the Governor*, and the whole band of *Souldiers* mention'd in 27 v. and meant in the Verses following. But they forgot to look nearer the Text it self, and to observe who was spoken of immediately before, namely in 32 v. Had they fixed their eyes there, they would have seen and be convinced that *ἐλθόντες* relates to these two persons, for there it is said, *they compelled him*, i.e. a man of *Cyrene*, *Simon* by name, to bear his Cross, i. e. Christ's Cross. And as for *ἐλθόντες*, I take it to be as much as *ἐλθόντες* (which is an usual way of speaking

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ing in the New Testament, and perhaps a hundred Instances might be produced of it) and then we are to render the words thus, *These COMING to a place called Golgotha, &c.*

That this, which I have offer'd, is the genuine meaning of the words (and not what is usually assigned) I prove from the parallel passage in the other Evangelist, 15 Mark 22. which our Translators render thus, *And they bring him into the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, the place of a scull*: but I conceive it should be english'd thus, *And they bring or carry it to the place Golgotha, that is, Christ and Simon the Cyrenian bring or carry the Cross to the place Golgotha*, for we may observe that *φέρω* is the word used in 23 Luke 26. to denote the *carrying of the Cross*. And further, it is most manifest to any one that peruses the foregoing words of St. Mark, that *φέρουσιν* hath reference to *Christ and Simon*, they being the last mentioned in the preceding words. And as for the Pronoun *αὐτὸς*, it refers to *σαυρὸς* in the immediately foregoing Clause. Where we read that *Simon was compelled to bear Christ's Cross*, and it presently follows, *ὃς φέρουσιν αὐτὸν*, *they, i. e. Christ and Simon, carry* (the Present Tense for the Imperfect one, than which nothing is more common in the New Testament) *it*, namely the

the *Cross*, to such a place. It is plain (whatever other notion hath prevail'd hitherto) that the Verb *πέραν* hath reference to these two persons, and the *Pronoun* to the *Cross*.

And consequently, upon this Correction of our Translation, both our Saviour and *Simon* did jointly carry the *Cross* to the place of Suffering. Not only the Text that is before us, but that other which I have produced proves this; though I do not know that they have been taken notice of by any Writers to this purpose. And indeed how could they, seeing it was never thought that they had any reference to this matter? But I question not but that, having now produced them, and set them in their true light, it will be acknowledg'd that they relate to our present purpose, and are a proof of what I offer, that is, that the *Cross* was born both by *Jesus* and the *Cyrenian*.

Ver. 33. *A place called Golgotha, that is to say, the place of a scull. Capitolium* was a place in *Rome*, so call'd because a *head* or *scull* was found there when it was built. In a resembling manner this Place had the name of *Golgotha* or *Calvary* (as 'tis in another Evangelist) because of the dead men's sculls that were taken up there: for it seems, according to Tradition, to have been an old place of Burying. Nay, if

we may give credit to the Ancient Fathers of the Church, the first man, *Adam*, was inter'd here. To which *Nonnus* in his Paraphrase on 19 *John* 17. [*he went forth into a place call'd the place of a skull*] thus alludes,

—————Χῶρον ἔχοντε παλιζόμενοις Κρανίς,
Ἀδάμ προτογονοῖς φερόμενον. —————

He will have it bear the Name of our first Progenitor *Adam*. To clear which I offer it to be observ'd, that *Gulgoleth* (from whence *Golgotha* is derived) is not only *cranium* but *homo* (as among the Latins *caput* is a head and a man or person: and so the English word *poll* is sometimes used) and so *Adam* the first Man, and who was the Head and Root of all Mankind, may be understood. It is not unworthy also of our remark, that several of the *. *Fathers* relate that this was the place where *Abraham* offer'd his Son *Isaac*. Which, if true, is very observable, seeing this is the place (though the name *Moriah* is chang'd into *Calvary*) where the only begotten Son of God, who was typified by that *Isaac*, was offer'd and sacrificed.

Ver. 34. *They gave him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall: and when he had tasted*

* *Origen, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, Ambrose, Augustine.*

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thereof, he would not drink. If we compare this with what another Evangelist saith, it may seem difficult to reconcile them : for St. Mark relating this part of the History of Christ's Sufferings, tells us, that they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrh, 15 Mark 23. Now Vinegar and Wine are different things : so are Gall and Myrrh. How then are we to understand these places, and to render them consistent? Those Learned Foreigners Drusius and Grotius, and our own Mede solve it thus, $\delta\tilde{\xi}\textcircled{\alpha}$ and $\sigma\tilde{\iota}\nu\textcircled{\alpha}$ are equivalent, for Vinegar is Wine, that is, sowre Wine. And as for the word $\chi\textcircled{\alpha}\lambda\eta$, it is the same with $\sigma\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\alpha$, for it signifies all kind of bitter Spices and Mixtures, and so it may include Myrrh. And so Dr. Hammond, together with the forenamed Writers, concludes that the Cup of Vinegar and Gall was the same with the Myrrh-wine. Thus they think they fairly reconcile the two Evangelists, or rather, thus they endeavour in some manner to adjust them, but I question whether they really thought they did so. For these Learned Criticks can't but be sensible what violence they offer to the words, and how unsatisfactory such straining of those terms $\delta\tilde{\xi}\textcircled{\alpha}$ and $\chi\textcircled{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ must be to the Inquisitive and Curious.

For first, 'tis notoriously known that *οξυς* is a thing different from *οινος* in the best and most approved Authors, and therefore it is unreasonable and unaccountable to confound them. Secondly, though *Myrrh* be somewhat bitter in taste, yet it doth not follow thence that we should make no difference between that and *Gall*. Thirdly, it is much more strange and unaccountable to take *οξυς* and *χολη* for wine mingled with *myrrh*. There is no Example or Authority (as the Great *Ludovicus de Dien* hath observ'd) to back this extravagancy, namely, the making of *vinegar and gall* to be *spiced wine*: which they hold who affirm these and the *myrrhate* Wine to be the same. Fourthly, we may as well make no distinction between *Gall* and *Wormwood*, because they are both bitter, as confound *Gall* and *Myrrh* on the account of their Bitterness. Fifthly, though *Myrrh* be bitter, and the Wine into which it is put, be so consequently, yet when *both Vinegar and Gall* are particularly and distinctly mention'd to be part of the Cup or Draught that was offer'd to Christ, we have reason to interpret these in the strict and proper sense, and to believe that there were *Vinegar and Gall*, besides *Myrrh*, given in Wine to Christ before his Crucifixion. I don't apprehend how we can reasonably doubt of this, seeing

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seeing St. Mark expressly tells us that *they gave wine* to our Saviour, and that wine was *mingled with myrrh*. And St. Matthew as expressly tells us that they *gave Christ vinegar*, and that vinegar was *mingled with gall*. I cannot approve then of the way which those Learned Critics have taken to reconcile the two Evangelists.

But I rather take upon me to effect it thus, namely, by asserting that these passages of the Evangelists must be understood of *two Distinct Cups* given to our Saviour *at different times*; that is thus, if I may be permitted to offer my Conjecture, Christ's Friends and the compassionate People presented Christ with a draught of good and generous Wine spiced with Myrrh: but the *Roman Souldiers*, who were his malicious Enemies, gave Christ Vinegar instead of Wine, and put Gall into it instead of Myrrh. This is a plain Interpretation of both Texts, and there is no force or violence put upon the words in either place, but all is easie and smooth: and indeed there is no occasion to *reconcile* the Evangelists, because they don't fall out with one another, but very firmly agree. For St. Mark acquaints us what was done at one time, to wit, that Christ's Friends desired him to accept of a Cup of *Myrrhate Wine*: and St. Matthew relates

what was done at another time, to wit, that Christ's Enemies under a pretence of offering Wine to him, gave him Vinegar mixt with Gall. Of both these I will speak distinctly, and give you some account of this different practise: which will be necessary for the right understanding of the words.

First, As to the οἶνον ῥοιματισμένον, *the Wine mingled with Myrrh* which was tender'd to our Lord before he ascended the Cross, it was according to the Custom which then prevail'd in the Eastern Countries, and among the *Jews* particularly, namely, to give to dying Malefactors a draught of Wine to drink. And they used to put into it a little Frankincense and Aromatic Myrrh, which latter is that which *St. Matthew* mentions here. This was the common Kindness of the People, especially of the Friends of the Sufferer. If it be asked, what was their particular Intention in giving this Wine, there is a double Answer to this Query. First, Some say that this Mixt Wine was given to those that were to suffer, that they might be stupified with it, and consequently not feel the extremity of the Pain which the violence of their death would otherwise bring upon them. * *Dru-*

* In locum.

finis proves out of the Jewish Writers, that the Jews used to give to suffering Malefactors (and they reckon'd our Blessed Saviour in that number) a dose of medicated Wine, to Intoxicate them. And *Maimonides* tells us that this particular sort of Wine, *i. e.* mixed with Myrrh, was usually given to the condemned, to * this very end and purpose. This (as Dr. *Hammond* thinks) is refer'd to in the *οἶνον καὶ λυγρόζην*, (as the LXX render it 60 Psal. 3.) *the wine of astonishment* or stupidity. And he interprets the *οἶνον τῆς Συμῆς*, 14 Rev. 10. after the same manner, and englishes it *stupifying wine*, which is applied there to the great and astonishing Judgments of God.

And the *Gentile* Writers take notice of this *Myrrhate* liquor, and own it to be serviceable to making men dizzy, and less sensible of pain. It is a Narcotic, saith *Dioscorides*, and so was fitly administred to those that were going to suffer, that they might bear their torment the better. And it may be that Medical Potion which was call'd *Sopor*, and is mention'd by † *Seneca*, was somewhat a kin to this, perhaps it was a kind of *Myrrhate wine*, such as was given to our Savior to stupifie him, and take away the sense of his Sufferings: and

* *Ut alienetur mens, & pœnam minus sentiat. In Sanhedrim. cap. 13.* † *De Beneficiis l. 5. c. 13.*

so St. *Jerom* and *Theophylact* and other Fathers interpret it on the place. But our Saviour refused to take this astonishing wine: St. *Mark*'s words are, *he received it not*, 15 *Mark* 23. And the Reason is evident, for he who came to undergo the severest of pains for us, both in body and soul, would not be deprived by any such Potion, as we have been speaking of, of his full sense and perception, it being a free and voluntary act of his to lay down his life. It is no wonder therefore that he would not drink of this Narcotic liquor, but only tasted of it, to fulfil the Prophecy about it. It was unworthy of our Lord to admit of any thing that would contribute towards the disturbing of his Spirit, and taking away his Senses, and thereby palliate his Sufferings and alleviate his Pains.

Others are of opinion that this *Myrrhate wine* was rather *Cheering* then *Intoxicating*, and that it was given by the By-standers not to stupifie, but to Comfort those that were to dye. The *vinum myrrhatum* spoken of by *Columella* and *Pliny* was Refreshing and Exhilarating; and the latter of these Writers acquaints us, that * the choicest and richest Wines among the Ancients discover'd by their Fragrancy that *Myrrh*

* *Lautissima apud priscos vina erant myrrha odore condita.*
Nat.hist. l.4. c.13.

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was put into them. And this sort of the most generous Wines was given to dying Malefactors by their kind and officious Friends. This, it is probable, is *the wine of the condemned*, 2 Amos 8. that is, the best and most generous wine. And perhaps 'tis no impertinent thought that *the strong drink which is to be given to him that is ready to perish*, 31 Prov. 6. refers to this.

I cannot yield unto what *Beza* and some other Critics of no mean fame have asserted, that the *Myrrhate wine* which I have been discoursing of was the same with the *Murina* or *Myrina* (and some write it *myrrhina*,) which the *Romans* so much delighted in, call'd by the Greeks *μυρρίνα*, a pleasant wine temper'd with an Aromatic Ointment, τῇ μύρρῳ κτεταμένῃ, sc. οἶνῳ, as *Hesychius* explains it: for they used odoriferous Unguents in their made Wines, as well as on their heads and faces. But it is a great mistake to think that this and the *Myrrhate wine* were the same, for there was nothing of *Myrrh* in that wine: and *μύρρον* and *συνέριον* are two different things. There is no cognation at all between these two, οἶνῳ μεμυρρομένῳ and οἶνῳ ἐσμυρρομένῳ. But it is probable that the bare sound of the word imposed upon these Learned men, which yet a man would wonder at.

I have no more to say under this Head but this, whether it was the nature and vertue of the Wine which was given our Saviour, to exhilarate, or whether it was the other before-mention'd, that is, to Intoxicate, it is not material to dispute now : but this we are certain of, that our Saviour was pleas'd to refuse the Cup, of what nature soever it was. He would not admit of it either to damp his Spirits, or to raise them. For the Refreshments which he had from himself were thought by him (as assuredly they were) sufficient for him. But it is not to be doubted that he thankfully resented the courtesie and good will of those his well-disposed Country-men, who according to the Custom that then prevail'd, presented him with a Cup of Laudable Wine spiced with sweet-smelling Myrrh.

Having insisted on St. *Mark's* words, which speak the kindness of our Saviour's Friends to him at his Crucifixion, I will now in the next place very briefly take notice of the malice of his Enemies, the *Roman* Souldiers and the Perverse *Jews*, who acted contrary to the fore-mention'd charitable Custom. Instead of good and generous Wine they gave Christ sour dead Wine, or Vinegar: and moreover, they blended it with Gall, to make it distastful and loathsome, and (not to allevi-

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ate, but) to increase the sense of pain. Such was their spite and ill-will against our Lord, that they not only offer'd the greatest affronts and indignities to him in the foregoing part of his life, after he began to appear in the World, but now even at the close of his life, when they had unjustly condemn'd him, they repeat their affronts and injuries, and pretending to give him Wine to drink, they gave him a mixture of Vinegar and Gall. A most insolent and barbarous Act, and therefore it was thought fit to be foretold and proclaim'd to the world long before it came to pass, in the person of King *David*, who was an illustrious Type of our Saviour. He complains that his Enemies gave him *gall and vinegar*, 69 *Psal.* 21. which was spoken metaphorically as to himself, but was really and actually fulfill'd in the Son of *David*: he had this bitter and sour Potion presented to him by the rude Souldiers and incensed *Jews*. And it seems this was a Potion that was made use of afterwards on the like occasion: for *Grotius* (on the place) observes that in the *Martyrologies* which refer to *Valerian's* persecuting Reign, there is notice taken of the *vinegar* and *gall* that were given in drink to *Maxima* and *Donatilla* before they went to Execution: perhaps in a wicked imitation of what was done to our Saviour at his Crucifixion. And

And thus I have attempted to remove the Difficulty and Contradiction which seem'd to be in the two Evangelists relations, the one saying that *they gave Christ gall and vinegar to drink*, the other telling us that *they gave him wine mingled with myrrh*. I conceive that these Evangelists speak of different draughts of liquor given to our Saviour: which fully solves all the Disputes and Controversies of Writers about this matter. Or, if we will not allow these to be two distinct Cups, and given severally, then I apprehend that the best way of interpreting the words, next to this that I have mention'd, is to suppose that when the good Women, and Friends of Christ reach'd over the Myrrhate Cordial to the Souldiers to give to him, to refresh his Spirits, those vile Wretches dash'd it with vinegar and gall. So that we have in this part of the History the practice of Christ's Friends, and of his Enemies; the one out of Compassion offer'd wholesom and chearing Wine to him: the other in mockery and out of malice mingled vinegar and gall with the Myrrh-wine which his Friends brought for him, or they presented these singly by themselves, which seems to be most probable.

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Ver. 35. *And they crucified him, and parted his garments, casting lots.* That is, whilst he hung on the Cross, some of the Roman Guard, who attended at his Execution, were busie in sharing his Garments, for according to Custom they had the disposing of them: and so 'tis amongst us, and most Nations at this day, the Executioner hath the Rayment of those that suffer. But this is to be noted, that when 'tis said *they parted his garments*, the inner garment is to be excepted, that *which had no seam in it*, which they rent not asunder, but cast lots for.

Ver. 37. *They set up over his head, his accusation written, This is Jesus the King of the Jews.* Which is conformable to the practise of the Romans, who used to set a Title over the Malefactors, to signifie their Crime, as *Suetonius* and several other Authors assure us. Accordingly *Pilate*, the Roman Governour, caused a Writing to be placed on the Cross of Christ, to denote his Fault. I will only here observe, that this Writing which was fix'd over our Saviour's head, hath three names given it: one by *St. Mark* and *St. Luke*, who stile it *ἑπιγραφὴ*, a *Superscription*, because it was something that was written over the Cross. Another name is given it by *St. John*, and that is *τίτλος*, a *Title*. And so *Nonnus*,

Ἱεράμια

Γραμμα τόπε καλέσαι Λαλινίδι τίτλων ἐσθ.

And *Titulus* was the frequent name assign'd it among the *Romans*, as we learn from * *Quintilian* and † *Suetonius*. In which latter it is also called || *Elogium*. That of * *Tertullian*, *Christiani suo titulo efferruntur* refers to this known practise of expressing the Faults of Criminals by a written Title or Enditement. St. *Matthew* here assigns it a third name, and that is αἰτιά, which we render *Accusation*, but the reason of the Greek term is because in this Charge there was written the Cause why Christ was crucified. And so by *Suetonius*, in that foresaid place in *Caligula's* Life, the like Writing is call'd *Titulus quia Causam pœnæ indicaret*. It generally contain'd the Name of the condemned person who was to suffer death, with the Cause or Matter for which he was condemn'd.

Ver. 37. *This is Jesus the King of the Jews*. Here I will take notice that this Title differs from what is set down by the other Evangelists; yea indeed, all the four Titles mentioned by the several Evangelists differ from one another; as will appear by thus placing them together,

* Declamat. 302. † In *Caligulâ* c. 31. In *Domitiano* c. 10.
|| In *Caligulâ* c. 24. * In *Apologet*.

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*This is Jesus, the King of the Jews, 27
Matth. 37.*

The King of the Jews, 15 Mark 26.

This is the King of the Jews, 23 Luke 38.

*Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews,
19 John 19.*

Now seeing the words are not the same in any of these *Titles*, and we are sure that they were not all of them made use of, how shall we know *which* of these four it was that was fixed over the Cross? To resolve this doubt, we must remember that it is usual with some of the Evangelists to relate things in a brief manner, and with others, or one at least of them, to deliver them fully and compleatly. It might be made manifest from several passages that I could alledge, that some of those Sacred Penmen do not always set down *all* the words and expressions that Christ or other persons said on such and such occasions. This is plain from this one thing, that words and passages are *differently* set down by the Evangelists, as we see in innumerable places: wherefore they can't be the *same* words, and *all* the words which were spoken on that subject. But where we find any passage delivered in the largest terms, and in most particular words, there we may conclude generally that those were
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the very words that were spoken or dictated. I will prove and illustrate this by an Example (of which sort I could produce great numbers :) without doubt the Apostles kept to their Commission, and *baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, though this is not expressed at length, but 'tis only said *they baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus*, 2 Acts 38. and 19. 5. which implies the rest. The like is to be supposed in the present case, The *Title* that was set over our Saviour's Cross was in those words which St. *John* relates it to have been, though all these words are not expressly and punctually set down by the other Evangelists. But those other briefer rehearsals of the *Title* include the larger one, because they were design'd only as Abbreviations. I can't think that any one will oppose this, who considers that many things are not set down in the express terms that they were spoken or delivered in: and some things are fully set down in one place which are not so in another; and lastly, that St. *John* writ his Gospel after all the rest, and made it his business to add several passages and expressions which had been omitted by the Evangelists that had written before him. Wherefore I reckon this *full* and *largest Title* to be that which was placed by *Pilate* at the top of the

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the Cross on which our Blessed Lord suffer'd, and which in the three Languages, in which we are told it was written (that the Strangers that came to the Feast at that time might read it) ran thus,

ישוע נוצרי מלך היהודים

Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

IESUS NAZARENUS REX IUDÆORUM.

Ver. 46, 47. *And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lamasabachthani, that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me. Some of them that stood there, when they heard that, said, This man calleth for Elias. Here are two Difficulties to be assailed; the first is, how it can be said that our Saviour uttered these words on the Cross, Eli, Eli, lamasabachthani, when another Evangelist saith the words were, Eloi, Eloi, lamasabachthani? The second is this, How the Jews could mistake those plain Hebrew words Eli, Eli, and imagine that Elias was intended by them? To reconcile the former of these Difficulties, some find fault with St. Mark's Copy, and say it should be Eli, Eli, instead of Eloi, Eloi. Beza is forward to suggest this, and Gro-*

tius positively asserts it. — But this is a very ill way of removing the difficulty, because it would endanger St. *Mark's* Book it self, if we should allow of Mistakes in it ; but chiefly because there is no ground at all for such a suggestion, for in all the Copies that are agreed upon to be the Ancientest and most Authentic, those words *Eloi, Eloi* are found. Therefore it is unworthy of those great Critics to use such Artifices as these (as they frequently do, but especially the former of them) and thereby to shake the credit of the Original.

Others solve the matter thus, though Christ (as St. *Matthew* relates) used the words *Eli, Eli*, yet St. *Mark* gives us the words as they are in the *Syriac*, because that was the present Dialect among the Jews. But this, notwithstanding it is the most receiv'd and approved Answer, is in my judgment very unsatisfactory, and no ways agreeable with St. *Mark's* relation, for he tells us expressly that our Saviour utter'd those words, and then immediately explains them, *which is* (saith he) *being interpreted, My God, my God* ; which is a plain proof that Christ spoke those *very words*, for no man can imagine that he would interpret words that were not spoken. Yea, indeed, what is not spoken cannot be interpreted. Therefore I

apprehend

apprehend there is no other way of solving it but this, that our Saviour on the Cross utter'd those very words which St. *Matthew* relates, and likewise those which St. *Mark* mentions. At one time he cried out *Eli, Eli, &c.* and at another *Eloi, Eloi, &c.*

I tender this as the True Solution, because 1. the others that are assign'd are precarious, and yield no satisfaction, as I have shew'd. 2. This that I offer doth not only fully remove the difficulty, and take off the seeming Opposition between the Evangelists, but it is that which the subject matter it self fairly suggests to us, for it is natural in our griefs and distresses, especially when they are very great and prelling, to repeat our doleful words. Wherefore when we consider those uncomfortable streights and perplexities our Saviour was in, it is obvious to think that he would recite his words more than once, and, as 'tis usual at such times, alter the syllables and vary the words, and breath out his Complaints in a different dialect. Accordingly it is likely that at first *Eli, Eli*, were the words that Christ used, and afterwards he chang'd them for *Eloi, Eloi*. 3. It is intimated by the Evangelists themselves, that these words were spoken at different times. St. *Matthew* reports here that *πρὸ τῶ ἐνάρτου*
O 3 *ῶγον,*

ὥρα, about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, *Eli, Eli, &c.* But St. Mark saith, *τῇ ὥρᾳ τῇ ἐνάτῃ*, at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, *Eloi, Eloi, &c.* 15 Mark 34. The one was only about the ninth hour, that is, three a clock in the afternoon, but the other was at the ninth hour, that is, three a clock exactly, for so the Greek imports, especially the Article *τῇ* being repeated: so that the words may well be rendred thus, at the ninth hour precisely. Which plainly distinguishes this latter Crying of our Saviour on the Cross from the former. I conclude therefore that Christ in the midst of his exquisite Pains and Torments cried out *Eli, &c.* and soon after with a little variation *Eloi, &c.*

The second Difficulty is this, How came Christ's words to be mistaken, both when he utter'd the words *Eli, Eli*, and when he used those others *Eloi, Eloi*? Especially how could they be ignorant of the meaning of those common Hebrew words *Eli, Eli*? did they not understand their own language? Whence was it that they imagined that Christ called for *Elias*, when he called upon God, for *Eli* is my God? The usual Answer is, that the Jews at that time did not understand the Hebrew tongue, for they had lost it in *Babylon* while they were Captives there, and
now

now *Syriac* was become their Mother-tongue, and therefore they might easily mistake *Eli* for *Elias*.

But though several very Learned Men content themselves with this Answer, yet if we examine it, it will not be found to carry any great weight with it. For it will not be denied that the *Learned* among the Jews, after the Captivity, understood the *Hebrew* tongue, though they commonly spoke *Syriac*; wherefore if any of this rank were at our Saviour's Crucifixion, they might understand what he said, though he spoke Hebrew. Again, even to the *unlearned* People of *Judea* the *Hebrew* tongue was not altogether strange and unintelligible. I do not say the *old Pure Hebrew*, but such a Dialect of it as they still retain'd in that which was now their National Language, which was a medley of *Chaldee* and *Hebrew*. For this reason it is not to be question'd but the Jews of *Jerusalem* did plainly understand the Hebrew tongue. And on this account it was without doubt that the Writing which was set over our Saviour's head, when he hung on the Cross, was in *Hebrew*, for the sake of the *Jews*, as well as in *Greek* and *Latin* for Foreigners. We can't imagine that *Pilate* would expose Christ's Inditement to be read, and yet not have ~~it~~ penn'd it ⁱⁿ a language that the

Jews themselves did not understand. But this Absurdity we must imagine, if we do not grant that the *Jewish* People generally at that time understood *Hebrew*: for as for the *Latin* Superscription, they had not been so long tributary to *Rome* as to be much skill'd in that: and though 'tis true the *Greek* tongue was grown a very Common Language at that time, and even among the *Jews* in other Countries, so that they understood little beside that Language, yet in *Palestine*, and more especially in *Jerusalem* it was otherwise. Yea, there is a plain Text in *St. John*, 19 chap. 20 v. that puts all this out of Controversie, *This Title read many of the Jews*, namely the *Hebrew* Title, for they were the *Jerusalem-Jews* that read it, as we learn from what immediately follows, *for the place where Jesus was crucified, was nigh to the City*. This is assign'd as the Reason why many of the *Jews* read the Title, namely, because being of *Jerusalem* they understood that Superscription which was writ in the *Hebrew* tongue.

Of which I will give you a farther proof from what is recorded in the *Acts*: there we are told that *St. Paul* at *Jerusalem* chose to speak to the people in the *Hebrew* tongue, 21 chap. 40 v. And *St. Luke* tells us in the second verse of the next Chapter, that they kept the more silence when they heard

heard that he address'd himself to them in their own language. Here is a plain Instance that the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* had some knowledge of the *Hebrew* Speech, unless you'll say that they kept silence to hear what *St. Paul* said, though they understood nothing of it, and that *St. Paul* who was at that time to court their favour, spoke to them in a Language that was unknown to them. I know there are Men of good Note, that by the *Hebrew* Tongue in this place understand the *Syriac*, and the like they judge of the *Hebrew* which was written over the Cross: but I could never be satisfied that there is good reason for this judgment, seeing the *Hebrew* tongue was not wholly extinguish'd among the *Jews* of *Palestine*, but was yet remaining in the *Syriac*. Therefore though I have been formerly inclin'd to think that the Title on the Cross was only in *Hebrew* Letters, but in *Syriac* words, I am since more inclinable to the other side, namely, that the Superscription it self was in the *Hebrew* tongue.

And as for *St. Paul's* Defence which he made to the *Jews*, it is most probable that it was in *Hebrew* strictly so call'd, that is, that a great part of what he said was in that language. Which we shall be the more induced to believe, if we observe that the Apostle lets them know in the entrance

trance of his Apology, that *he was a man that was a Jew, and brought up in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel*, and now it was proper to give a proof of his skill in that Language wherein he had been brought up. And this is to be consider'd that if he had spoken to them in *meer Syriac*, which was then the Vulgar Speech, it would not have been particularly remark'd by St. *Luke* that **THEY KEPT SILENCE**, and were exceeding Attentive when they heard in what language he made his application to them. This shews that there was something more then usual in the Apostle's speaking, and that it was the *Hebrew*, not the common *Syriac* which he deliver'd his thoughts in to that Auditory. And it shews likewise that they had some understanding of this way of speaking, for St. *Paul* was concern'd, at that time especially, to speak so as to be well understood by the Jews.

These things prevail with me to interpret the foresaid places in that manner that I have done. And, to conclude, I don't know why the *Hebrew tongue* may not in those places I have named be properly understood, that is, why it may not be thought to be the *Hebrew* truly so call'd, as well as it is acknowledg'd to be in 5 *John* 2. 26 *Acts* 14. 9 *Rev.* 11. and 16. 16. In all which places it is agreed by all that the

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the *Hebrew tongue* is to be taken strictly for the language spoken by the Hebrews. Yet all this while I do not deny what some very Learned Writers have asserted and proved, that most of the ordinary and vulgar Jews in *Judea*, and all of them in other Countries, at that time when our Saviour was upon Earth, and a considerable time before that, were utterly unacquainted with that Tongue which was the Idiom of their Fore-fathers, and that at this time when Christ suffer'd, and long before, their Common Language was *Syriac*, which was a mixture of Hebrew and Chaldee, which their Fathers had acquir'd in the time of their Captivity in *Babylon*.

But if the Jewish People at *Jerusalem* were no strangers to the Hebrew tongue, how came they to misunderstand our Saviour when he used the words *Eli, Eli* ? In answer to this I desire it may be taken notice of, that it is asserted by both the Evangelists, *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark*, that *some of them that stood there, or stood by, said, he calls for Elias. Times some* ; therefore it is not spoken of the generality of the Jewish People, as if they were wholly ignorant of the words which Christ utter'd, but it is spoken of some particular persons only. And these, as I conceive, were either first, the *Hellenist Jews*, several

ral of whom came to the Passover at that time, and understood not *Hebrew*, but spoke *Greek* altogether, and used the LXX's Version. Or secondly, they might be some of the *Jerusalem Jews*, who though they understood and spoke the Hebrew tongue in part, yet did not *distinctly* hear our Saviour's words, and thence proceeded their mistake. And when I read that our Lord on the Cross *cried with a loud voice*, (as all the Evangelists that mention this part of the History have recorded) I am enclined to think that the Excessive Lowdness of the Voice wherewith the words were spoken, might (as is usual in such a case) even drown the articulate sound of the words. Or, perhaps the mistake arose from hence, that there was some likeness in the sound of the words *Eli*, and *Elijah*.

Or thirdly, these *τινες* were some *prejudiced Jews* of *Jerusalem*, who not out of ignorance, but perversness and malice mistook our Saviour's words, and gave out that he mention'd *Elias*. Now, this wilful mistake was committed by these Jews when our Saviour the second time cried with a loud voice, and said *Eloi, Eloi*: for St. *Mark* assures us that at this time likewise, namely, at the hearing of *Eloi, Eloi*, some of the by-standers cried out, *He call'd for Elias*. Here was, I say, a wilful

ful mistake, it is probable, the words *Eloi* and *Elijah* being not so like in sound as *Eli* and *Elias*. But they having misapprehended the words *Eli*, *Eli* before, they are resolved now, though there is no occasion given them, to persist in this mistake.

And the ground (it is likely) of their mentioning *Elias* was from what they had heard (and who had not heard?) of the fame of the Prophet *Elias*, and of his coming in the latter times, according to the Prophet *Malachi's* prediction, 4 *Mal.* 5. And it ran in their heads that so Great a Man as *Elias* would do some Great and Wonderful Thing if he came to the assistance of Christ, and thence in way of derision those words fell from their mouths, *Let us see whether Elias will come to take him down*, 15 Mark 36.

These are the True *Answers* which ought to be given to the abovesaid *Query*, and they seem to me to be very obvious and reasonable, though I could never light on them in any other Writers that have handled these Texts.

But now in the last place it will be ask'd, Why did our Saviour on the Cross use both the *Hebrew* and the *Syriac* tongue, as appears from his using not only the words *Eli*, *Eli*, which are of the former sort, but *Eloi*, *Eloi*, and also the word *sabachthani*, which

which are of the latter kind. Notwithstanding the several suggestions of differing Writers, I apprehend this to be the plain and true reason, namely, because it was according to the stile and idiom of the Jews at that time to use mixt words. Which is yet a farther confirmation of what I before deliver'd concerning the using of the *Hebrew* tongue. What the renowned *Grotius* draws as an * *Inference* from our Saviour's using the word *Sabachthani*, may be assigned as a *Reason* of his doing so, that is, Christ (as the rest of his Country-men) spake a mixt language, neither the ancient *Hebrew*, nor the *Syriac*, but a dialect compounded of both. This, I say, I give as a *Reason* why our Saviour's words are of a different kind.

The not observing of this hath put very Learned Men upon giving other strange accounts, and this among the rest, of the words *Eloi* and *Sabachthani*, that Christ used the words of the *Hebrew* text, *Eli, Eli, lamah gnazabtani*, 22 *Psal.* 1. but *St. Mark* set down the words *Eloi* and *Sabachthani*, because they were best understood by the Jews. The ground of which surmise is this, the Authors of it thought the *Hebrew* tongue was wholly unknown

* *Hinc & aliunde colligitur Christum neque veteri usum Hebraeorum Sermone, neque Syriaco, sed mixtâ Dialecto, quæ tum in Judæâ vigeat. Annot. in 27 Matth. 46.*

to the Jewish People in our Saviour's time. But I have, I hope, suggested enough to render that Opinion incredible, and at the same time to satisfy us why both *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* words were used by Christ at his Passion. This cannot be thought strange by those who consider the disposition and make of the Language then in use among the Jews, which was between the *Old Hebrew* and the *Syriac* tongue.

And now to quit this Verse, I will add only this, that though I have more than once represented *Elohi* and *Sabachthani* to be *Syriac* words, and tho' several valuable Writers have done the same, yet this is rather said in contradistinction to the *Hebrew*, than to signify that they are properly *Syriac*, for *Sabachthani* is a *Chaldee* word, and is that which is used in the *Targum* on 22 *Psal.* 1. and *Elohi* is to be reckon'd a word of the same tongue (which that excellent Critic *de. Dieu* hath taken notice of) and not a *Syriac* one properly, (notwithstanding the contrary hath been said by the generality of Learned Critics) for *my God*, *my God* in the *Syriac* is not *Elohi*, *Elohi*, but *Mari*, *Mari*, or *Marani*.

Ver. 48. *And straitway one of them ran, and took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed (upon hyssop, saith another Evangelist) and gave him to drink.*

It

It is but an odd conceit that the *Sponge* wet with hyssop and vinegar was made use of to wipe our Saviour's wounds whilest he hung on the Cross. Though 'tis true that * *Pliny* delivers this use of the *Sponge* moistned with vinegar, namely, that the Friends of the Suffering Criminals were wont in this manner to mollifie and assuage their pain. But there is not the least ground of applying this in this place, because the Text hath no relation at all to any such thing, for it is not the juice or moisture of the *Hyssop* that is here spoken of: nor is the *Hyssop* made use of any otherwise than to be a Vehicle to the *Sponge* and *Vinegar*, as you shall hear anon. Nor is the *Vinegar* applied to Christ's wounds, but to his mouth, as *St. John* expressly informs us, *they put it to his mouth*.

There is an Ingenious fancy of a late Writer about the *Hyssop*, to wit, that it hath relation to the old Custom of *crowning their Cups*. They used to adorn them with Coronets of Flowers: whence in imitation of this Roman usage the Soldiers (who were *Romans*) crown'd the Cup of *Vinegar* and *Gall*, which they gave to Christ, with *Hyssop*. This is the meaning of the expression *ὄσπινρον περὶ*

* Nat. Hist. l. 31. c. 11.

that is, the prophane Souldiers would beset and bedeck the Cup with *hyssop*, any herb or flower they had at hand. But there are several things that may justly be objected against this Notion; for first, there is a mistake in calling it a *Cup*, for here was no such thing, only a *Spunge* fill'd with *Vinegar*. Therefore here was no *Cup* to crown, and consequently no allusion to it. Besides, the *Cup of Vinegar and Gall* is not intended: that was a draught given to our Saviour far different from what is spoken of in this place, as will appear from what I shall say afterwards.

Again, This fanciful Interpretation will vanish by assigning the true and solid one, which is that of *Grotius* and other staunch Critics, that Christ had *Vinegar* given him in a *Spunge*, and that *Spunge* was reach'd to him upon a *stalk* of *Hyssop* that grew thereabouts: which *stalk* is called a *reed* by *St. Matthew*. Thus the Evangelists are reconciled, for *they put it on hyssop*, 19 Joh. 29. and *they put it on a reed*, according to our Evangelist, are the same: by *hyssop* there being meant the reed or *stalk* belonging to that Plant. Now, the reason why the *Vinegar* was put into a *Spunge*, and conveyed on a *stalk* of *Hyssop* was, because Christ's hands were nail'd to the Cross, and consequently he had not the

use of them, and could only suck the Vinegar in this manner, namely, by help of a Sponge. And besides, Christ was out of the reach of their hands who stood about the Cross, wherefore they made use of this stalk to hold up the Sponge of Vinegar to his mouth. It is most probable then that as the *Mustard-plant* was in that Country of an extraordinary bigness and growth, 4 *Mark* 32. so the *Hyssop* was a very large Vegetable (and indeed * *Josephus* reckons it among *Trees*) and thence the *Stalks* of it were stiff and long, and fit for that purpose which hath been mention'd. Seeing therefore those that were about our Saviour at his Crucifixion could not with their hands reach the Sponge of Vinegar to his mouth, he hanging so high, they made use of this Expedient, they took a stalk of Hyssop, and lapped the vineger'd Sponge about it, and then lifted it up. This is the meaning of *περὶ ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ σταῦρος*, putting it round the hyssop, or tying it about it. This seems to me to be the exact Translation of those words.

But the main thing to be enquired into is, what was the design of giving our Saviour this Vinegar when he hung on the Cross. Some have thought that this was done in

* *Antiq.* l.8. c.2.

way of scorn and mockery by the Souldiers, they offering him Vinegar instead of other Liquor which was better. And truly the favourers of this Opinion have something to say for it, for they may imagine that it is grounded on those words of St. Luke, *The souldiers mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar,* 23 Luke 36. But if we consult that place, we shall be convinc'd that it hath no relation to this passage which I am now treating of, for this Raillery of the Souldiers was at *the sixth hour*, 23 Luke 44. but the handing of the Vinegar to him on a Spunge was at the *ninth hour*, as we read expressly, 27 Matth. 46. 15 Mark 34. This shews that it is not the same part of the History with that which is now under our consideration. But it belongs, I suppose, to the relation about the *Gall and Vinegar*, which I have spoken of before. And though only *Vinegar* be here mention'd, yet when it is added that *they mock'd him*, the giving of the *Gall* is implied, for that was done out of meer derision. And further, this part of the History of Christ's Passion in St. Luke must refer to the Cup of Gall and Vinegar, because he mentions it no where else. This must be the place where he speaks of it, or none.

There are others that think this *Vinegar* was given not out of Mockery only, but Malice and Cruelty, and that the *Hyssop* was mingled with *Vinegar*, to render it more distastful. *Nonnus* interprets 19 *John* 29. after this manner,

Ὁρεγεν ὑσώπῳ κακερρασμένον ὃς ὁ δάειρος.

And so *Casaubon* understands it of the juice of *Hyssop* mixt with *Vinegar*. Yea, one of the learned'st Men of this last Age reads it ὑσώπον for ὑσώπῳ, on purpose to establish this Notion. I mean the Excellent *Bochart*, who thinks they put *Hyssop* upon the Sponge, not this upon that; and so the Bitterness of the *Hyssop* being added to the Sharpness of the *Vinegar*, made the drink they gave to *Christ*, the more loathsome. But this is too much like a *Critic*, to mend the reading of the New Testament, that a Conceit may not be lost. And I have resolv'd never to favour any Opinion that is grounded on the *Amendment* (as they think) of the *Original*. Whosoever countenances this, substracts from the Truth and Authority of the Holy Scriptures; and by this means it will happen in time that these Writings will be rendred Uncertain and Precarious. Wherefore I bar all *Criticism* that is built upon alteration of the *Original Text*.

Grotius

on 27 Matth. 32, 33, 34 &c. 211.

Grotius holds that this *Vinegar* which was given to our Blessed Lord when he was upon the Cross, was to comfort and cheer him, to keep up his Spirits. But this Great Man's assertion is founded on a wrong bottom, namely, that this *Vinegar* was no other than *Wine*, and was the same with the *Myrrhate* wine that was given to Christ before he was crucified, which I have before refuted.

But there are some that understand it of *simple Vinegar*, without any mixture, and tell us that this was used to be administered to those that were fainting. But I ask, how was it applied? Certainly to the Nostrils, to be smelt to: which is not the present use of it in the Instance before us, for 'twas applied to the Mouth, to be drunk. Wherefore there is no foundation for their Opinion who say that this *Vinegar* was given to support our Saviour's Spirits, and to prevent swoonings and deliquiums.

One I have met with who fancies that *Vinegar* and *Hyssop* were mix'd together, and given to our Lord for the foresaid purpose, that is, to comfort him, and keep him from fainting, because *Galen* tells us that *Vinegar* mix'd with *Hyssop* is a strengthner. But the plain Answer to this is, that *Hyssop* was in this sense a *strengthner*, that it was a supporter of

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the Sponge in which was the Vinegar, but in no other sense ; for it was not used as an Ingredient in that Liquor, and therefore this present Allegation is groundless.

I need not stand to confute *Theodoret's* Opinion (which hath been also espoused by others) that *Vinegar* was given to Christ to hasten his end ; for then he would not have drunk it, as we read he did. We may be confident of this, that he would not be accessory himself to his death, and accelerate it by any means whatsoever.

Dismissing then all these Opinions, the History it self of Christ's Passion furnishes us with the true reason why he had *Vinegar* offer'd him to drink, and why he accepted of it. We are informed that this Liquor was design'd to quench his *Thirst*, and that it was tender'd to him on that account. For it was occasion'd by our Saviour's saying, *I thirst*, 19 *John* 28. whereupon it immediately follows, *Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar, and they fill'd a sponge, &c. and put it to his mouth*, namely, that he might quench his thirst. And our Evangelist *Matthew* expressly records that *they gave it him to drink*, that is, that he might thereby allay his thirst. For we must know that *Vinegar* was in use in those

those hot Countries for that very purpose. Especially by the ordinary people and poor folks it was constantly drunk, when they were thirsty. See for this Dr. *Lightfoot* in his *Horæ Hebraicæ* on the place. And several good Authors might be produced to prove that Vinegar was as common a drink among the Eastern People as Beer among us. Particularly, that Liquor was wont to be prepared, and to be set in a convenient place for those that were Crucified, or otherwise Executed, whence 'tis said that *there was set a vessel full of vinegar*, i. e. according to the Custom it was order'd that *Vinegar* should be there ready, to cool and slack their thirst.

So then, to shut up all, the History of this Chapter lets us know that there was a Triple Potion given to our Saviour: one was usual and common, viz. *Myrrh-wine*, to comfort him: and this was given him as soon as he came to the place of Execution. The second was Unusual, to wit, *Vinegar and Gall*, which was design'd to disturb and torment him, such was the Malice of his Adversaries: and this was offer'd to him presently after he was nail'd to the Cross. The third and last was handed to him, upon his saying, *I thirst*. This was Simple *Vinegar*, and was usually given to Sufferers

ferers to allay their excessive heats and inflammations: and this was brought and administred to our Saviour in the close of his Crucifixion.

If any one can give a better account of these Passages in this History of Christ's Passion, I am content. However, let the Ingenuous accept of these Attempts.

EXERCITATION III.

In what sense it is to be understood that Christ *knew not the day or hour* of his own coming to Judgment.

13 MARK 32.

Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.

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BEFORE I return an Answer to the propounded Difficulty, I will search into the true meaning of those terms

terms *that day* and *that hour*, which we find in the former part of the Verse: especially I will enquire how that word *hour* is to be understood in this place. The famous *Belgic Annotator* is very peremptory in this Assertion, * that by *ὥρα* in this place is not meant a certain part or portion of a Day, but a compass of time more largely taken. And there are some others of late that follow that Great Man, and tell us that *ὥρα* is here not a part of a day, such as we divide a Day into, and call an *hour*, but that it is here, and generally in other places of a larger Extent, and hath no reference to a particular part of a Day.

I take this to be a false Notion, and that I may prove it to be so, I will examine those places where they think the word *ὥρα* is taken only in the latitude of it, and I will shew that the word in those places, and some others, is to be taken in a restrained sense. And then I will more particularly enquire into the word as it is to be understood in the Text before us. But before I do this, I will let the Reader know what I grant and yield in this Controversie, and how far I agree with our Antagonists.

* *ὥρα* hic non diei particulam, sed latius sumpti temporis ambitum intelligo. Grot. in 24 Matth. 36.

First, I grant most willingly that the word *hæra* was not always thus limited. It was but little before *Alexander* the Great's time that the use of *Hours* obtain'd among the *Grecians*, and it was much later before this commonly prevail'd among the People of *Greece*, as a * *Knowing* Writer hath truly observ'd. So among the *Romans* we are told by † *Pliny* that for 300 years together they knew nothing of this division of the Day into *hours*. || *Censorinus* not impertinently observes that the word *hora* is not used in the *Twelve Tables*, and that the *rising* and *setting of the Sun* were the general terms that were used by the *Romans*, as *Pliny* also notes in his *Natural History*, Book VII. Chap. 60. But it is not to be denied that the *Chaldean* and *Egyptian* Astrologers divided the Equinoctial day into Twelve even parts, and from them the Astrologers and Mathematicians among the Ancient *Greeks* made use of this partition, for the fixing of the Horoscope, and the like purposes. And yet this must be said with equal truth, that the dividing of every Day, whether *Equinoctial*, *Brumal*, or *Solstitial* into Twelve even Sections, and that for the common use and benefit of Commerce, was a later

* *Salmas. ad Solin. p. 651.*† *Nat. Hist. 7.c. 16.*|| *De die natali. cap. 19.*

invention.

invention. And it was about 500 years before *Sun-dials* were found out and used at *Rome*, as *Pliny* relates, and perhaps not long before in any other place, if some Mens notions be true that *Abaz's Dial* was of a peculiar sort, and did not contain the distinct division of the Day into *Hours*.

But afterwards, it was otherwise, and both *Grecians* and *Romans* divided the day and the night too into *hours*. And as for the *Hebrews*, it is certain that they did so. On which is grounded that of our Saviour, *Are there not twelve hours in the day?* 11 John 9. If we speak of an exact *Equinoctial* day, then there are no fewer, nor no more hours than twelve, and those of the same length: but at other times it is not so. But the *Jews* at all times (as some think) divided their days into twelve hours, from morning to evening; but then their *Hours* were not equal, but varied according to the season of the year, and the access or recess of the Sun. And so as to the Night, they divided it, whether it was short or long, into so many hours, but these hours were *unequal*. It is not so with us in these Regions, where we measure day and night by hours of the same length; and consequently the number of hours in a day or in a night alters according to the

time

time of the Sun's rising and setting, according to Summer and Winter.

And the foresaid division of the Day among the *Jews* was consistent with that other which was in use among them, namely, the distribution of it into four parts or *Grand Hours*, every one of which consisted of three particular Lesser Hours. The first part comprehended the first, second and third hours: the second the fourth, fifth and sixth hours: the third the seventh, eighth and ninth hours; and the fourth the tenth, eleventh and twelfth hours. And they divided the *Night* also into four *Watches*, each of which contained three hours. So that it appears that among the *Jews* there were two sorts of *Hours* in use, the Great and the Lesser; the former were in number four, each of which contain'd three of the other hours. The latter were twelve, the day (and so the night) being divided into so many hours continually. These Lesser Hours are call'd (as we see in the forecited place, *the hours of or in the day*, 11 John 9. which shews what was the Custom at that time, and what was the use of the word *ῥῆμα*, namely, that it signified the twelfth part of a Day.

And then secondly, I grant that in some places of Scripture *ῥῆμα* is taken in a general sense for a large space of time,
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and not for a particular part or division of a day. Thus in 1 *John* 2.18. *it is the last hour*, we rightly translate it, *it is the last time*. *The hour cometh*, 16 *John* 2. may be the same with *the time cometh*, and so our English Translation hath it. *The hour of temptation*, 3 *Rev.* 10. may be no more than the time of temptation. *The hour of his judgment* may be equivalent with the time of his judgment, 14 *Rev.* 7.

After these Concessions, I come to what I undertook to make good; and the first thing is this, that the word *hour* is in many places to be understood, not in its latitude, or in the general acception of it, but in a limited sense. Thus we read that *K. Nebuchadnezzar's Decree* ran thus, That whosoever fell not down, and worshipped the golden Image which he had set up, should *the same hour* be cast into the fiery Furnace, 3 *Dan.* 6. This is the first time that an *hour* is mention'd in the Writings of the Old Testament, and no Man I think will venture to deny that it is to be understood in a restrained sense, and signifies a particular portion of the day. For this expression *the same hour* denotes the Severity of the Decree, and that whosoever offended against it should not have his Punishment deferred, but that it should bear date with his Crime, and that it should be inflicted, in *that very hour* in

which

which he transgressed. So in 4 *Dan.* 16. 'tis said *Daniel was astonish'd for one hour*, where any one will acknowledge that *one hour* denotes a particular limitation of time. So long, and no longer was he troubled and perplex'd upon his hearing the Dream related by King *Nebuchadnezzar*. And this expression is used afterwards to ascertain us of the *particular Time* when this Dream was accomplish'd, 4 chap. 33 v. *The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar*, the very same hour of the day. And in a *Chaldaic* form you meet with this word again, 5 chap. 5 v. *in the same hour*, to denote the particular time when the hand-writing appear'd on the wall to *Belshazer*. Accordingly the Hebrew word *Shagnah*, which is here used, is frequently made use of in that sense by the *Jewish Writers*.

Next, in the New Testament (for there are no other Instances in the Old but these which I have named) this limited sense is very frequent. Thus in the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard we read of the third, ninth and eleventh hours, 20 *Matth.* 3, 5, 6 verses. And in the History of our Saviour's Passion, we read of the third, sixth, and ninth hour, 15 *Mark* 25. 33. Ὡρα is taken for the exact space of an hour, 22 *Luk.* 59. διαδόου ὥσπερ ὥρας μιᾶς, *about the space of an hour after*. And that is

is a plain and undeniable place, 4 John 52, 53. *Christ enquired of them the hour (i. e. the particular time of day) when he began to amend, and they said unto him, Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him. So the father knew that it was at the same hour, &c.* None can deny that *Hour* is taken here for such a particular portion of the day. There is mention of *the hour of Prayer*, and 'tis said to be the *ninth hour*, 3 Acts 1. that is, three a clock in the afternoon. We read in 5 Acts 7. of the *space of about three hours*. And in 19 Acts 34. it is said, according to the Greek, *there was one voice of them all crying about two hours*. In 8 Rev. 1. 'tis said *there was silence in heaven, ὡς ἡμικρον, about half an hour*. Which though *Grotius* interprets of an indefinite, but short, space of time, yet considering that *hour* is taken so often in this Book of the *Revelations* (as you shall presently see) in the confined sense, it is most likely that the *half* of it is to be understood so too. *The four angels were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year*, saith this Apocalyptic Writer, 19 Rev. 15. where *hour* being contradistinguish'd from *day, month, year*, it appears that it is properly taken. So it is said in this same Writer, that the destruction of *Babylon* should begin *in one hour*, 18 Rev. 10. that is, one certain hour.

Grotius

Grotius expounds it *intra breve tempus*, but when we take notice that these very words *μᾶ ὥρα* are used not only here, but in the 17th verse, and again in the 19th, we shall be induced to think that there is a particular Emphasis in them, and the precise Repetition of them signifies that they are to be taken in a strict and proper sense, that is, the same with *that hour* in this place of St. Mark which hath occasion'd this part of my Discourse.

And so now in the next place I come to shew that in *this* particular place of Scripture the word *ὥρα* signifies not Time in general, but a particular space of it, which we commonly call an *hour*. This I'm perswaded will find belief with those that are willing to search into the particular Method and Order of our Saviour's Discourse in this Chapter. In the foregoing part of which he had been speaking of the *General Time* of the Day of Judgment: he lays down certain Marks and Signs, by which we may know when it will be, and about what time we may expect it. So that if we look into that part of the Chapter, the Time of Christ's coming to judge the World, if we speak generally and largely, cannot be unknown to us; much less was it unknown to Christ himself. Therefore it is evident hence that the word *hour* is not (as *Grotius* and others

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assert) to be understood of Time in general. The very Contexture of our Saviour's Discourse confutes this. And therefore on the other hand I gather that the *particular* and *precise time* of our Lord's coming to Judgment is here meant, and consequently that *hour* in this place is to be understood as I have interpreted it. For *this* I take to be the true and brief purport of our Saviour's words, "Tho' I have already so describ'd and set forth the Last Judgment by its *Signs* and *Forerunners*, that it will be easie to know and discern the Time of it in general, yet let me tell you this, the Particular and Punctual Time is kept secret, and no Man, or Angel, no nor the Son himself hath any fore-knowledge of it. From which short account of the Frame and Design of Christ's words, I think 'tis evident, that the word *hour* in this place is to be taken in a restrained sense. Especially, seeing *day* and *hour* are joyn'd together, this manifestly indicates to us that *certain particular divisions* of Time are here meant; and that neither *day* nor *hour* are here to be understood in a large and unconfin'd sense, as some Critics have averr'd.

I proceed next to that which is more considerable in this passage of Scripture before us, and that is, How it could truly

ly be said by Christ himself, that *of the day and hour* (i. e. the particular and exact time) of his coming to judge the world *he knew not*, and that this was *known* only to his *Father*. It seems very strange and unaccountable that he being equal to the Father, should not have the same Knowledge that he hath, but that some things should be unknown to him, and particularly the Day of Judgment. This was the Ancient Cavil of the *Agnoeta* (of whom one *Themestius* was the first Founder) a sort of Heretics in the sixth Century that had their name from this very thing, that is, their taxing Christ with * *Ignorance*, for they argued from this Text, that he was unacquainted with the time when the Last Judgment should be. And the *Arians* before this made use of the same Text to disprove Christ's Divinity, because he being ignorant of the Day of Judgment could not be True God, and coequal with the Father.

To take off which impious Cavil, and to present us with the true sense of our Saviour's words, several Solutions and Answers have been devised : which I will particularly enumerate, and then pitch upon something which I apprehend to be most solid.

* Οἱ ἀποκρίναντες τῷ Κυρίῳ ἠμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ μετὰ πολλῶν. Eulog. Alex. apud Photium.

I. St. * *Jerom* would perswade us that *ἐν τῷ ὄνόματι* is foisted into the Text, and is not in the Original Greek, but was, it is likely, added by the *Arians*. So St. † *Ambrose*, and some others after him, have suspected that these words were inserted since the Evangelist wrote this Gospel; and the only reason is because they occur not in St. *Matthew*, 24 chap. 55 v. the parallel place. Which is rendred the more probable by alledging that *Mark* is an Epitomizer of *Matthew*, and every where contracts his History, wherefore 'tis not likely that these are St. *Mark's* words, seeing they are not to be found in that other Writer.

But if we consider the thing aright, it will appear that this is no argument at all against St. *Mark's* having these words; for 'tis clear to all observing Readers, that though St. *Mark* in several places delivers things more concisely then St. *Matthew*, yet in many places he is more particular then he is, yea, then any other Evangelist, and commits to writing sundry passages, words and sayings which neither St. *Matthew* nor the others have deliver'd. And these Additions of his, as || *Grotius* thinks,

* Epist. 121.

† De fide lib. 5. cap. 8.

|| Non ita se *Matthæo* astringit, ut non alicubi mutaret verba, adderet etiam aliquid, *Petro*, ut credi par est, si quid supra ceteros meminerat, suggerente. In 24 *Matth.* 36.

were owing to St. Peter, the constant Companion of our Lord, who had a perfect knowledge of all his sayings and actions, and furnish'd St. Mark with materials. There is no ground then for their suggestion who surmise that the Text is adulterated by asserting those words ἐδὲ ὁ υἱός.

It is true, this is an easie way to evade the Text: but then we must remember that this is the way to enervate the force of many other unquestionable places of Scripture, yea of *any* other places, for it is but surmising, and with some confidence alledging that such and such words or expressions are added since the inditing of the Books, and the business is done. Wherefore we ought to be very Cautious here, and to entertain no such suggestion, unless it brings clear and manifest proof along with it. But there is nothing like this here, as *Grotius* hath briefly, but sufficiently shewed. It is only a bare allegation, or cavil rather, that these words were not originally in the Text, but were fetch'd in afterwards: but I do not see the Proof of it so much as attempted, and therefore this way of Solution is to be slighted.

II. Some would give an account of the Difficulty in the words by criticizing on εἰ μὴ, for so the words run, ἐδὲ ὁ υἱός, εἰ

μὴ ὁ πατήρ. Zegerus, a Learned Minorite, in his Critical Annotations on 24 Matth. 36. hints this reading, *neither the Son, unless the Father*, namely, (as he explains it) *unless the Father knows, that is, the day and hour of the last Judgment*. The meaning is, that unless he knows that precise Time, the Son cannot possibly know it: But because the Father knows it, therefore the Son doth, he and his Father being one. So that here is not a denial of our Saviour's being acquainted with the particular season of Doomsday, but only upon Supposition, *unless*, &c.

But though this favours of Critical Ingenuity and Subtilty, yet it hath not that Solidity which is required. And I will briefly demonstrate that this cannot be the Interpretation of the place; for if it be, it must also be the interpretation of the other Parallel one, 24 Matth. 36. εἰ δὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ με μόνος, for every one will grant that the meaning is the same in both, else they are not parallel Texts: which yet no one hath denied. Now, it is plain that these can't be expounded alike, for it doth not follow, that because the *Father* knows the punctual Time of the General Judgment, therefore *Men* and *Angels* know it. And yet this must follow, if we expound the words after that manner which the fore-
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said Writer hath attempted ; as thus, *Of that day and hour knoweth no man*, (Gr. none) *no nor the angels of heaven, unless my father*, that is, unless my Father knows that exact time ; but (as this Authour assumes) my Father knows it, and therefore Men and Angels know it. This plainly lets us see how absurd that Interpretation is.

Besides, the words run thus, *unless my Father only*, which further evinces the Absurdity of the Exposition, which is in this manner, *Of that day and hour knoweth none, no, not the Angels of Heaven, unless my Father only knows that day and hour* : but he *only* knows them, therefore Men and Angels do so too. You see here is a flat Contradiction, and yet it is the natural and necessary result of Zeger's interpretation of the place.

I could likewise shew the inconsistency of this Interpretation, by applying it to a place which much resembles this, *No man knoweth the Son but (ἐὶ μὴ) the Father : neither knoweth any man the Father save (ἐὶ μὴ) the Son*, &c. 11 Matth. 27. How absurd would it be here to expound it thus, *No Man knoweth the Son, unless the Father knows him : neither knoweth any Man the Father, unless the Son knows him*. Which may further serve to convince us of the Absurdity of the like interpretation own'd by the fore-named Critic.

And again, the *Criticism* is faulty, because the Conjunction $\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta$ (for 'tis taken as one word here, as well as in other places) is constantly, in the stile of the Evangelists and Apostles, not only an *Exclusive*, but a kind of *Adversative* particle, as may be seen in these following Texts, 5 *Matth.* 13. | 12. 24, 29. | 14. 17. | 15. 24. | 17. 21. | 19. 17. 2 *Mark* 7. | 6. 4. 7 *Rom.* 7. | 11. 15. | 13. 1. 1 *Cor.* 8. 4. 4 *Eph.* 5. 4 *Phil.* 15. 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. 3 *Heb.* 18. 21 *Rev.* 27. and in other places which might be produced, where our Translators rightly render it *but*, because it is used in an *adversative* way, & positively excludes all other persons or things besides him, or that to which it is applied.

And to shew this to be the true meaning of the word $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron$ or $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$ is generally joyned with it, as in that 24 *Matth.* 36. $\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta\ \delta\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\ \mu\epsilon\ \mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron$. And so in 12 *Matth.* 4. | 17. 8. | 21. 19. and in 2 *Mark* 7. And sometimes $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ supplies the place of $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron$, *Who can forgive sins*, $\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \omicron$; The word $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron$ is added in these places likewise, 6 *Mark* 8. 4 *Phil.* 15. 9 *Rev.* 4. which irrefragably proves $\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta$ to have the *Adversative* sense. The same is manifest from 1 *Gal.* 7. $\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta\ \tau\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$, *But there are some*, where it is an absolute and perfect *Adversative* particle. And so in 2 *Gal.* 16. *a man is not justified*
by

by the works of the law, but ἐὰν μὴ, the same with εἰ μὴ) by the faith of Jesus Christ. All this makes it evident to any Critical Enquirer that εἰ μὴ, according to the constant use of it in Scripture, is disagreeable to the notion which Zeger hath of it, and to the sense which he takes it in. For he makes it a meer Conditional particle, when he renders the words εἰ μὴ ὁ παῖς after this manner, *neither the Son, unless or if not the Father*. But this is contrary to the usage of the word in the stile of the New Testament, and (as I have shewed before) against the design of this place.

III. * *Origen* and † *Ambrose* propound a Mystical sense of the Text, as if by the Son were meant the Church of Christ, which is Christ mystically. But I believe this way of interpreting the words will be imbraced by none but those that reject all other Interpretations. And therefore I shall not trouble the Reader with an Answer to it. We are never to fly to a Mystical sense of Scripture, when a plain Literal one lies before us.

IV. || *Epiphanius* solves the Text by a Distinction of knowledge, to wit, δεξιῶς

* Hom. 30. in Matth.
|| Hæres. 82.

† Lib. 5. de fide, cap. 7.

and

and *χρῆσις*, of *vision* and *use* or *action*. By the former our Saviour knew the Day of Judgment, but not with the latter. Perhaps the pious Abbot of *Claraval* had such a notion as this, when he interpreted the place of *Experimental knowledge*: Christ, * *saith* he, did not know that day and hour by any of his Senses. It may be unto this may be referr'd *Scotus's* Conceit, who solves Christ's *not knowing* the hour of Doomsday by his † *Intuitive* and *Actual knowledge*. And one doth not know but that *Thomas Aquinas* meant some such thing by his distinction of || *infused* and *acquired knowledge*: which he thinks gives an account of the words. But I believe few will find satisfaction in any of those Distinctions, as relating to the present matter; for they are far-fetch'd, and come not near the business in hand. And I question not but most are of opinion that the bare propounding of them is a sufficient confutation.

V. Others give this account of Christ's words, that though he *knew not of that day and hour*, yet it was the same as if he *knew it not*, because he did not intend to reveal it. No meaner a Man than

* *Traſtat. de Gradib. Humilitat.*
|| *Sum. 3. par. quæſt. 9.*

† 3. *Sent. Diſt. 14. qu. 3.*

St. *Augustine* interprets the Text thus,
 * *The Son* (saith he) *told his Disciples that*
he knew not, inasmuch as he caused them not
to know, by hiding the thing from them.
 Though he knew the Secret himself, yet
 he thought not fit to discover it to them.
 Several others of the Fathers take this to
 be the meaning of the words. St. † *Am-*
brose tells us that it was not convenient
 that the Apostles should be inform'd con-
 cerning the precise Time of Doomsday,
 and therefore he conceal'd it from them,
 and upon that account may be said *not to*
have known it himself. || Another expres-
 ses it ill, when he saith Christ feigned he
 was ignorant, because of the infirmity of
 the Disciples, who were not capable of
 knowing at that time such a Mystery.
 * *Hilary* and † *Isidore* agree to explain it
 thus, Christ is said *not to know the day and*
hour, because he would not let his Apo-
 stles know the time. *Cyril of Alexandria*
 meant the same, when he saith it is spoken
 οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενος, by the way of Dispensation or
 Accommodation. || Another ventures to
 say that Christ pretended ignorance,

* *Filius discipulis dixit se nescire, quia illos nescientes occul-*
tando faciebat. De Trin. l. 1. c. 12. And again, *Quod dictum est, ne-*
scire filium, sic dictum est quia facit nescire homines, id est, non
prodit eis quod inutiliter scirent. Quæst. l. 83. c. 60.

† De fide l. 5. c. 8.

|| Basil. Epist. 141.

* De Trin.

l. 3.

† Epist. 117.

|| Photius in Epist. 228.

though

though he knew the day and hour ; only to hide it from his Disciples, because it was not fit for them to know it. These Ancients are followed by * *Thomas Aquinas* (for 'tis usual with him and others to propound different Sentiments) and by † *Bellarmino*. And they have one Protestant on their side, who positively asserts that || *not to know* is the same with *not to know so as to tell it to others*. And he endeavours to corroborate this interpretation from 1 Cor. 2. 2. *I determine not to know any thing among you*, i. e. to teach any thing among you.

But this Interpretation, though it hath had the strange hap to be allowed of by so many, can't be thought to give us the true meaning of the place. For any deliberate thinker, when he reads those words, *Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no nor the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son*, must conclude that the word *knowing* is to be understood in the same sense where it is applied to *men* and *angels*, or where it is applied to the *Son*: for there is no imaginable reason to make any difference. Seeing then it is said that

* Adv. Gent. l. 4. c. 8.

† De Christ. l. 4. c. 5.

|| *Nosse idem valebit hic ac docere ; ut scilicet dicant, Quicumque docere poterat, docuisse se (sc. Christum,) non vero convenire muneri suo ut diem adventus sui designet. Cameron in*
13 Marc. 32.

no *man* or *angel* knows of the day or hour of Christ's Coming, this according to the foresaid interpretation must be understood thus, That neither *Men* nor *Angels* know of it, so as to tell and reveal it unto others; but yet however, they may, yea and do know of it themselves. But now, who is there of any tolerable sense that will construe the words in this manner? And yet this must be the Construction of them, if the abovesaid Exposition be embraced. This were sufficient to invalidate it, if no other consideration were added.

But this may be added further, from taking in the following words [*but the Father*] that if the Father's *knowing* the day and hour of the last Judgment *so as to reveal it*, be understood here, then we should have known by this time that day and hour, for if he had *reveal'd* it to us, we should have *known* it: but we do not know it, therefore the Father hath not revealed it, and the Consequence of that is, that the Father himself doth not know it, for according to the present Exposition *knowing* is in order to *revealing*. And from all this it is further plain that the words might as well have run thus, Of that day and that hour knoweth no Man, neither the Angels in Heaven, nor the Son, nor the Father. I say, *nor the Father* might have

have been added, if *not to know* be equivalent with *not to let others know*, for so God the *Father* knows not the last Day and Hour, as well as the *Son*, for he doth not discover it to others. Therefore I look upon this pretended Solution of our Saviour's words as very ludicrous, and unbecoming the seriousness and integrity of the stile of Scripture. It looks rather like a Collusion then an Answer.

And as for that place alledged by *Cameron*, it makes nothing to his purpose, for when the Apostle saith, *he determined not to know any thing among them save Christ crucified*, knowing is to be taken there as in 17 *John* 3. *This is life eternal to know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ*; it signifies owning and acknowledging. I conclude then that this strange way of expounding Christ's words is to be exploded. And I can't but wonder that so many Wise men should take up with so precarious an Interpretation.

VI. Some understand the words thus, The Son knows not of that day and hour except the Father reveals it to him: for all knowledge in the Son is by and from the Father: therefore he must know it first, and from him the Son receives it. So *Enthymius* upon 24 *Matth.* 36. And

* *Basil*

* *Basil* seems to favour this. Which, I conceive, is borrowed from what † *Irenæus* had said on this place, namely, that Christ here refers the knowledge of that day to his Father, as he professes he received by an eternal generation his life and operation from his Father. But this is not satisfactory, because here is a plain denial of knowledge in the Son as to this matter: wherefore it is not a bare *reference* that is spoken of.

VII. Christ saith this wholly in honour to his Father, submissively ascribing this Prerogative to him, and preferring him before himself. || *Photius* mentions this among other Interpretations, but it is defective, because these words do not speak of a bare *Preference*, but (as was said before) of a denial.

VIII. After all that hath been said, the most simple, genuine and satisfactory decision of the words is this, Christ knew not the Day of Judgment as he was *Man*, though as *God* he did. So the Great *Athanasius* against the *Arians* expounds the place, * "It is manifest, saith he, that

* Epist. 391.

† Adv. hæres. l. 2.

|| Epist. 228.

* Ἀλλὰ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ πατρὶς τέλει ὡς μὲν ἄνθρωπος γινώσκει, οὐ γινώσκει. Cont. Arian. Orat. 4.

“ Christ

" Christ knows the hour of the end of
 " all things as he is the Word, but as he
 " is Man, he is ignorant of it. For, as
 " he adds, (a) As Christ being Man, after
 " the manner of Men hunger'd and thirst-
 " ed, so as he was in the same capacity,
 " he knew not the Day of Judgment,
 " therein also shewing himself to be like
 " unto Men. And again in the same place,
 " (b) Because of the flesh as a Man he said
 " this, for this is no diminution or di-
 " sparagement to the Word, but it is the
 " Property of the Humane Nature to be
 " ignorant of some things. He other-
 " ways words it thus in the same Oration,
 " which I add to shew the full and entire
 " perswasion of this Learned Writer con-
 " cerning this matter; (c) " He rightly
 " saith, *neither the Son*, because of the Bo-
 " dy, to shew that he was ignorant of
 " some things as he was Man and had a
 " Body, for it is proper to Men, as such,
 " to be ignorant. *Gregory Nazianzen*
 " solves the difficulty after the same manner,
 " for these are his words (d) Christ knows
 " that day and hour as he is God, but he

(a) Ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Χριστὸς μὴ ἀνθρώπων πᾶσι καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν
 μὴ ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ οὐδὲ. Ibid.

(b) Διὰ τὴν σάρκα ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἔλεγεν, ἕως οὗ τὸ ἐλάττωμα ἦν
 τὸ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐστὶ εὐσεως ἰδίον καὶ τὸ αἰνοεῖν.

(c) Καλῶς εἶπε τούτοις, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, διὰ τὸ σῶμα· ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι ὡς
 ἄνθρωπος ἐκ οὐδὲν, ἀνθρώπων ἔστι ἰδίον τὸ αἰνοεῖν.

(d) Γινώσκει μὴ ὡς ὁ Θεός, αἰνοεῖν δὲ φησὶν ὡς ἄνθρωπος. Ont. 36.

faith he knew it not as he was Man. *Chrysostom* was of the same mind, * He knows it not, faith he, according to his Humane Capacity, who knows all things according to the power of his Divinity. The same faith *Cyril of Alexandria*, and concludes καὶν ἀγνοεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως λίγναι, ἀλλ' οἶδεν Θεοῦς, though our Saviour is said not to know, in respect of his Humanity, yet he knew as he was the Omniscient God. And he illustrates this from the History of *Lazarus*, where we read that Christ asked the Jews where they had laid him, 11 John 34. That is, as a Man he knew not where they had disposed of him, though he rais'd the said *Lazarus* from the dead, and therein shew'd his Divine Power, and that he knew as he was God where *Lazarus* was laid. And not only the Greek, but the Latin Fathers interpret the place thus. I will mention only two of them, namely † *St. Ambrose* (though 'tis true he favours another Opinion) and *St. Hilary*. None can be more plain in delivering his mind than the latter, || According to his Humane Nature (faith he) he profess'd his ignorance of that day and

* Ἀγνοεῖ κατὰ τὸ ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὁ ζῶντων τὰ πάντα καὶ τὸν θάνατον τῆς θανάτου. Homil. 117. Tom. 5.

† De fide l. 2 c. 4. Et in cap. 17 Lucæ.

|| Secundum hominis naturam diei atque horæ professus est ignorantiam. De Trin. lib. 9.

hour : and he explains it by what is said of Christ in other places, *viz.* that he shed tears, that he was weary, that he slept, that he was thirsty, &c. which things are spoken of him, saith he, as he was obnoxious to the Infirmities of the Flesh, not as he was God.

Thus I have produced the words of these Excellent Men, to shew how exactly they agree in their Sentiment about this place of Scripture. And though I find there are some that look upon this as no good Account of this Text, yet I do not perceive that they pretend to offer a better, which shews that their low esteem of this flows from meer prejudice. Nay, it proceeds from something worse, that is, a wilful refusing to attend to the language of the Holy Scripture, where they might see that Infirmities are attributed to Christ, as he was Man, and clothed with Humane Nature. Thus (as 'twas observed before by a pious Writer) we read of his being weary, and of his fainting, and of his grief and trouble of mind, &c. And in sundry the like passages of the *New Testament* it is frequent to speak of Christ as *Man* only. Especially that place 2 *Luke* 52. must not be overlook'd, *Jesus increas'd in wisdom*, that is, as he was *Man* he did so. He made advances in Knowledge and Prudence by degrees, and not all at once,

for

for then indeed it could be properly said that he *increas'd* in these Accomplishments, or that he *made proficiency* in them, as the Verb *πρὸς ἄνω* should be rendred, for it properly signifies to go forward, to proceed, to make some progress. Jesus is said to do this with reference to his *Wisdom*, as he was *Man* only, as he had a Humane Soul: and so his Faculties ripened by degrees, though the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in him, according to which he could by no means be said to *increase* or *proceed* in that or any other mental excellency.

Hence it appears that the Resolution which was last assigned of the Difficulty in the Text is pertinent and proper, and founded on the stile of the Holy Evangelists, which oftentimes speaks of our Saviour under the notion of his Humane Nature, but hath no reference to his Divinity. This gives a full and compleat Answer to the *Objection*, which would insinuate that the Day of Judgment is so known only to the *Father* that the *Son* knows not at all of it. Which is a down-right perverting of the words, for they speak not of our Saviour under the notion of his Godhead, in which capacity he knoweth all things, but meerly as he was endued with Humane Nature, in which respect he was not acquainted with the day and hour of his own coming to judge the World. We are then to carry

this with us, that the Person of the Son is not here opposed to the Person of the Father, but the Humane Nature of the Son to the Divine. And therefore the Son of God is not excluded by these words, for he saith himself, *All that the Father hath is mine,* 16 John 15. consequently if the Father knows the day and hour, the Son also doth. But that which is to be gathered from these words is, that the Humane Nature of Christ, as such, is excluded from the knowledge of that day and hour: So that the result of the whole is this, That the Distinction of the Two Natures in Christ is the best Solution of the Difficulty before us.

EXERCITATION IV.

Whether *Annas* and *Caiaphas*
were High-Priests at
the same time.

3 L U K E 2.

*Annas and Caiaphas being the
High-Priests.*

According to the Greek it should be rendered thus, *Under the High-Priests Annas and Caiaphas*: and if the thing or things which are here spoken of were done *under Annas and Caiaphas* the High-Priests, it is implied that these two Persons were actual Pontiffs at such a time, which was about three years and a half before Christ's Passion. And they continued so some time afterwards, as we read

R 3 more

more then once in the History of our Saviour's Sufferings. So that it can't be an Oversight, (as some vain Men would suggest,) because 'tis so often repeated by the Evangelists. But then, how shall we reconcile this with the *Mosaic Law*, according to which there could be but *one* High-Priest, and the Office was by hereditary descent in the Line of *Aaron's* first-born, and he held it for his life. How came there then to be *Two* High-Priests?

The way of reconciling this is various, according to the different Notions and Sentiments that Writers have of this matter. I will impartially set down their Opinions, and shew why I can't assent to them: and then I will venture to offer my own Apprehensions about this Controverted Case.

I. Some think that in that troublesome and distracted time of the Jewish Church, *Moses's* Law relating to this matter was disregarded, and that there were Two together that enjoy'd the Pontificat, and that these two Men *Annas* and *Caiaphas* were in the Office at the same time. *Nonnus* understood it so, as appears from that part of his Paraphrase on 18 *John* 24.

Ἰησοῦν προέβηκεν ἐπὶ λυσσάδει γαμβρῷ
Ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐπὶ δὲ πεφορημένον ἀρχιερεῖ.

Annas

Annas according to him was *Caiaphas's* *Co-adjutor*, *Colleague* and *Associate* in the High-Priesthood. And because *Josephus* acknowledges that all things were bought and sold at that time, this is supposed to be a good foundation for the Assertion. That is the reason, some think, why *St. Paul* said *he wist not that Annas was the High-Priest*, 23 Acts 5. because another was High-Priest besides, he being put into the Office by the *Roman Prefect*. This happen'd in those days by reason of the Greediness and Avarice, as well as the towering Ambition of the Jewish Priests; who having obtain'd that High Place in a *Simoniackal* way, it is no wonder that they acted unjustly and wickedly in the discharge of that Office, as we find they did in the Case of our Saviour.

But all this will appear to be meer surmise, if we consider that a Pair of *Simoniackal* Priests, who procured their Places by their Money, could get but little by the bargain. If their *Covetousness* prompted them to get the Place after that manner, yet the same Principle would beat them off from purchasing it so, because they could not both of them come into the whole Profit. And it is likely that a *Moiety* would not discharge the Expenses they were at in the obtaining it. Besides, it would not satiate their *Ambitious* Appetite

tite to be *jointly* High-Priests. If this were a Principle they acted by, it would scarcely permit them to accept of the Pontifical Honour, unless they could enjoy it singly. As for *Josephus's* relation of the disorders of those times, it affects not the present Cause, because he saith not a word concerning the Joint High-Priesthood of these two Persons: whereas every one knows that that Jewish Historian is very diligent and exact in his accounts of all such things. Seeing therefore he saith nothing of it, it is a strong presumption that there was no such thing. And then, as for St. Paul's *not knowing that Annas was the chief Pontiff*, I have accounted for this in * another place, and have shew'd that it can't be made use of to countenance the fore-mention'd interpretation of this place, for it is an *Ironical* way of speaking. This passage therefore of the Apostle can't be alledg'd in favour of those who make two High-Priests at once.

II. Some have invented this notion, that *Annas* was *de jure* High-Priest (because he was the next in order, but unjustly put by) but *Caiaphas* was *de facto*. And so they are both of them call'd *High-Priests*, the one because it was his Right; the other

* Of the stile of the Holy Scriptures. Chap. 4. p. 128.

because

because he was really and actually in the place. But all that need to be replied to this is, that we read in the Story of Christ's Passion that they both were active in their Councils against him, which confutes the Conceit of *de jure* and *de facto*, for they were both High-Priests in the latter sense.

III. Another way of solving the difficulty is this, according to *Baronius*, that *Caiaphas* was the High-Priest, but *Annas* also bore that name because he was the Chief of the Priests, and Chief of the Council call'd the *Sanhedrim*. They tell us therefore that others besides the High-Priests were call'd so, if they were Priests of the first Note, and the Heads of the several Classes or Orders of Priests, which were twenty four. Nay, a late Writer carries this on further, and peremptorily asserts that there were two High-Priests or Archbishops among the Jews, and that they had different Provinces. Of this double rank of Supream Pontiffs we read, * he saith, in 3 *Numb.* 4. 1 *Chron.* 24. 2, &c. 2 *Kings* 25. 18. 52 *Jer.* 24. And such were *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, according to him.

But all this is far from proving that there was a double rank of High-Priests : and the Texts which this very Learned

* The Case of the Regale, &c. p. 41, 42, &c.

Writer produces are not able to prove what he affirms. For first, as to 3 Numb. 4. *Eleazar and Ithamar ministred in the Priests Office, in the sight of Aaron their father*, there is only this to be deduced, that these two were admitted into the Sacerdotal Office whilest their Father lived. Which is the same that is delivered in 1 Chron. 24. 2. *Nadab and Abihu died before their father, and had no children: therefore Eleazar and Ithamar executed the Priests Office*. That which is to be inferr'd hence is, that these two Sons of Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar, were Priests, and discharg'd that Function in their Father Aaron's time, which they should not have done if their elder Brothers Nadab and Abihu had lived. And this is evident from the manner of expression used in this Verse, which is observable: *Nadab and Abihu died before their father, and had no children* (they were taken hence before they were married) *therefore Eleazar and Ithamar, &c.* they succeeded in the place of their Brothers, and the Priestly Office descended to them and their Posterity: but here is not a word of the two High-Priests, which this Learned Writer supposes here. Those other places 2 Kings 25. 18. 52 Jer. 24. where is mention of *Seraiah the Chief Priest* and *Zephaniah the second Priest*, are as little to the purpose, for here is no

First High-Priest and Second High-Priest, as 'tis said by this Authour, but here is one High-Priest, *viz.* *Seraiah*, and another, to wit, *Zephaniah*, who was next in Place and Function to the High-Priest, as being chief over the Levites, as *Eleazar* before, 3 *Numb.* 32. For from the entrance into that Chapter we may inform our selves (and so might this Authour) that there was one Chief Priest who govern'd the Priests of such an Order or Division; and there was another who was Ruler over the Families of Priests. But still there was but one Supream Priest. All then that hath been hitherto suggested, and with some confidence dictated by this Learned *Casuiſt*, is grounded on Mistake, and is absolutely contradictory to the positive Law and Constitution of the Jews.

If we would have a true account of the matter before us, it is this, that some others, besides the Supream Pontiff of the Jews, had sometimes the Title of *High-Priests* bestow'd upon them, but yet it doth not follow thence that there was a Pair of High-Priests (properly & strictly so call'd) at one time, or that the Text which is now under our consideration speaks of these two sorts or ranks of High-Priests. Some indeed undertake to criticize on the words, and tell us that *Chief Priests* and *High-Priests* were two distinct things: but these

these Men did not consult the Original when they made this Remark, for ἀρχιεπίς is the word for both in the *New Testament*, though our Translators differently render it. But though we reject this groundless Criticizing on the words, yet we retain the reality which is in the distinction about them. And this is the true and only Answer that is to be given to the fore-said pretended Interpretation, *this*, I say, that the *Greek* word is to be taken in a double sense, as well as the Hebrew words *Cohen hagadol* and *cohen harosh*, namely for a High-Priest strictly so stiled, who presided over all the rest of the Priests, and also for the Priest that was the First or Chief of one of the Classes of Priests. But now this can't be applied here in the present case, because there is not the least hint to make this distinction between *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, and to say that one was the Head or Principal of a Classis of Priests appointed to officiate in the Temple in their Courses, and the other was the Chief Pontiff in the strictest acception of the word.

IV. It is said by others that they took the Office by turns yearly, by means of a Gratuity given to the *Roman* Governours; and the Name of *High-Priest* was continued not only when they did officiate, but that

that year that they lay vacant. But this is said without proof; nay, we can prove the contrary, that is, that they did not act by turns, for we read that Christ was carried before both *Annas* and *Caiaphas*. Which shews that they joyntly acted as High-Priests, and not one one year, and the other the other. This certainly overthrows the Conceit of an alternate enjoying of the Office.

V. Others tell us that the High-Priest among the Jews had his *Vicar* or *Deputy*, who supplied his place when he was absent, or sick, &c. and this Person was call'd *High-Priest*: therefore 'tis no wonder that we read here of two High-Priests at a time, for *Annas* was *Caiaphas's* Deputy. And this Opinion is the more considerable, because it is patronized by such Great Men as *Scaliger*, *Casaubon*, *Grotius* and *Lightfoot*, who had it from *Josephus*. But these Persons agree not among themselves when they come to explain their minds. And particularly the Learned Dr. *Lightfoot*, though he holds that *Annas* was the *Sagan* or *Vicar*, yet he describes this Officer after such a manner that he makes him no *Sagan*. For he saith he was not a different Order from the *Priests*, as the Chief Pontiff was, but his business was to take care of the Courses of the Priests,

Priests, and to inspect their Ministry. So that he makes him a Superintendent and Overseer of the Priests, which is the Opinion I mention'd before, but he will not allow him to be a Deputy of the High-Priest. But the other Writers I last mention'd stand to what they say, and vouch *Annas* to have been the *Sagan* or *Vicegerent* of the High-Priest. They produce some Examples (as they think) to confirm this Interpretation, as 2 *Kings* 25.18. 1 *Chron.* 24. 2. 52 *Jer.* 24. which were alledged before on another account: but I have fully answer'd them there, and therefore will not repeat any thing that I said on that occasion: for what I suggested there may convince us that none of those places speak of the High-Priest and his *Sagan*. And that these are not meant when *Caiaphas* and *Annas* are said to be High-Priests, I shall evince from these three weighty Considerations.

1. It is no ways likely that *Annas* was only a *deputed Pontiff*, because it had been very odd and unusual to joyn him with the true *Pontiff*. This was never known to be done by any Historian in his assigning the times of actions and events. It had been tolerable indeed to mention such a one if he had acted in the Office at such times assigned, the other being then disabled: but to name both of them together, is without precedent.

2. Not

2. Not only to joyn them together, but to place the *Deputy* before the *Principal*, is yet much more unaccountable. So that there is no probability of *Annas's* being *Caiaphas's* Substitute, because we always find him plac'd first, and *Caiaphas* afterwards. Inſomuch that one would rather take this *latter* to be the others *Vicar*, from the order of mentioning of them. If *Annas* had been the *Sagan* or Deputy of the High-Prieſt, he would not have been named in the firſt place, for ſuch a one is never put before the Perſon he repreſents. Therefore from the Priority of mentioning *Annas*, I conclude he was not the Substitute of *Caiaphas*.

3. The *Vicegerent* acts only in the abſence of the Perſon whoſe Vicegerent he is: but it is not ſo here, as hath been obſerv'd before, and thence I infer that *Annas* was not a Vicegerent. The *Sagan*, as Dr. *Hammond* ſeaſonably notes, did not uſe to exert the Office, unleſs the High-Prieſt on the account of Sickneſs or ſome Legal Defilement could not appear himſelf: but *Annas* exerciſed the Pontificate at the ſame time with *Caiaphas*.

Nay further, this Excellent Writer hath obſerved that the *Sagan* or Vicar of the High-Prieſt was his Deputy only in the Temple, and offici-ated there when the other could not. But his Deputiſhip extended

tended not to *Judicature*, he could not represent the Supream Pontiff in the *Sanhedrim*. Now, we find that both *Caiaphas* and *Annas* meet together in Council, 18 *John* 13, 28. 4 *Acts* 6. therefore 'tis unlikely that *Annas* was *Caiaphas's* Suffragan or Vicar.

VI. Others pretend to answer the Difficulty by telling us that *Annas* was the *Nasi*, an Officer among the Jews of great Authority, and who was well skill'd in their Laws; and he was generally a Priest of the first note and rank. This *Nasi* presided in Civil Affairs, and judged and determin'd in Controversies of that nature, but the High-Priest's was a Sacred Function. The one was a Representative of *Moses*, the other of *Aaron*. *Annas* was the former, and *Caiaphas* the latter. One was the Prince, the other was the Father of the *Sanhedrim*. These things and much more are said by those Great Men *Selden*, *Hammond*, *Lightfoot*; for even this latter gives *Annas* the Character of the *Nasi*, though he calls him the *Sagan* or Second High-Priest.

But there seems to be little ground for what they are pleased to say, and none at all why such a Person should have the title of *High-Priest* conferr'd upon him: for if (as is acknowledg'd) their Offices

were

were distinct, yea of a very different nature, the one acting Civil, the other in Ecclesiastical Matters, there can be no reason assigned why they should be honour'd with the same Title. We may as well suppose that the Titles of *Lord Chancellor* and *Archbishop of Canterbury* may be given to the same Man. And though we should grant that these two may be joyn'd in the same Person, as they have been heretofore, yet the Titles remain'd different and distinct. And though we should suppose that the *Nasi* and the *High-Priest* were sometimes joyned together in great and weighty Affairs, as at the Trial of our Saviour, yet still they were two distinct Officers, as well as Persons, and therefore 'tis unreasonable to imagine that they should be comprehended under one Name.

VII. *Eusebius* hath another way of interpreting the Text, which is briefly thus, * When 'tis said, *Annas and Caiphas being the High-Priests*, this includes the whole time of Christ's Preaching, which was four years; that is, when *Annas* was in the Pontificate Christ began to preach, and when *Caiphas* was in that Office, he ended his preaching. And he names the

* Eccl:Hist.L.1.c.9.

two others that succeeded in the Pontifical Dignity after *Annas*. So that Christ may be said to have performed the whole Work of his Preaching when *Annas* and *Caiaphas* were *High-Priests*.

But it is easie to shew how mean this is, yea how impertinent, for 1. It is not *Christ's* preaching (as our Learned *Annotator* notes) but *John's*, that is spoken of at the beginning of the 3d Chapter of *St. Luke*. This Evangelist did not design to give an account of the Course of our Saviour's Ministry, but of his Forerunners. 2. The relation of the four High-Priests which *Eusebius* gives is confuted by what the Jewish Historian * *Josephus* delivers (though *Eusebius* pretends to borrow the Succession thence) as *Dr. Hammond* hath shew'd. 3. It is very improperly said that such a thing was done under *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, or when they were High-Priests, if it can be proved (which is acknowledg'd by *Eusebius*) that there were two more High-Priests in that very space of time. For these Reasons the foresaid Interpretation is not to be admitted.

And thus I have shew'd what are the several ways that Learned Men have taken to satisfy themselves about this por-

* *Antiq. l. 18. c. 3.*

tion of Scripture. But I cannot acquiesce in any of them, and I have endeavoured briefly to give my Reasons for it.

According to my apprehension (leaving every one to his own judgment) the plainest and most satisfactory Account that can be given is this, that not only the *High-Priest* of the present year, had that *Title*, but the Person who had been in the Office the year before still retain'd that Name, though the Pontificate was taken from him. Accordingly here, though *Caiaphas* was the only High-Priest at the time which the Text speaks of, yet because *Annas* had been High-Priest in the foregoing year, he bears the name of High-Priest. That this Solution of the passage in St. *Luke* hath a good foundation, I will prove both from Scripture, and the Suffrage of the Jewish History. First, this is founded on clear places of Scripture in the *Old Testament*. In *1 Chron.* 18. 16. 'tis said that *Zadoc and Abimelech were the Priests*, i. e. High-Priests at that time. Though *Abimelech* (or *Abiathar*, as he is call'd in *1 Kings* 2. 26, 27. | 4. 4.) was turn'd out of his Office of High-Priest by *Solomon*, and *Zadoc* was set in his room, yet the former had the Title still. Though he was discarded from his Place, he in an honorary way kept the Name. And *Zadoc* and *Abiathar* are

mention'd together in other places as joynt High-Priests, 2 *Sam.* 15. 35. | 17. 15. | 19. 11. 1 *Chron.* 15. 11. from which Instance we learn that those who had been in the Pontificat, held their honourable Title, notwithstanding they were not actually High-Priests. This is our present Case, *Annas* is call'd High-Priest, because he had been so. We see it is according to the *Jewish* Custom and way of speaking.

Again, It is manifest from what expressly occurs in the *New Testament*, that *Caiphas* only, properly speaking, was the High-Priest at such a time, and in such a year, and that there was no other but him: and it is intimated at the same time that *Annas* had been High-Priest in the preceding year, or some time before; whence it was that he was stiled High-Priest still. *St. John* speaking of the time when our Saviour was crucified, saith in expresse terms, *Caiaphas was High-Priest that same year*, 11 *John* 49. and again v. 51. *he was High-Priest that year*. And so in 18 *John* 13. it is recorded again that he was in that place *that same year*, as if there were some particular Emphasis in these words *that same year*. And so without doubt there is, and it is to our present purpose. For the reason why the Evangelist so often mentions *Caiaphas's* being High-Priest that same year, is this, that thereby

thereby he might intimate that the High-Priests in those times were displaced at the pleasure of the Roman Governours, and though they were in that Office one year, yet they could not be sure that they should be so the next. If this were not the reason, it had been sufficient to say barely, *Caiaphas was High-Priest, and prophesied, &c.* And this so frequent mentioning of *Caiaphas's* being Chief Pontiff that same year, implies also that the year before there was another invested in the Pontificate. And whom would we guess it to be but *Annas*, who we find is more than once joyned with *Caiaphas*?

From all which we gather that *Caiaphas* at this time was the true Pontiff, and that in that particular year there was no other but him, and that when he and *Annas* are said to be High-Priests, it is to be understood thus, that this latter had that Name given him because he was in that honourable Post before, it being the usual Custom of the Jews to call him High-Priest who discharg'd that Function formerly: and for honour sake his Name was joyned with that of him who was actually and really High-Priest. This, I conceive, is included in that manner and form of speaking which the Evangelist uses: he seems to have designed

to let us know what was the way and usage of the Jews at that time : otherwise there was no need of adding *that same year*, and repeating it.

Moreover, the Notion which I tender is corroborated by the suffrage of *Josephus* and others, who have treated of the *High-Priests* among the Jews. They acquaint us that they did not observe the Aaronical Succession which the Law prescrib'd, but obtained the Sacerdotal Honour by Bribes : and afterwards the Roman Procurators at their pleasure placed and displaced the High-Priests, so that the Office was not for their lives, but at the disposal of their Governours. The Jewish Historian tells us in several places of his *Antiquity*, (*Lib. 17. c. 6, 8, 15. Lib. 18. c. 1. Lib. 19. c. 5, &c.*) that the Lineal and Hereditary Descent of the High-Priesthood was laid aside after the Roman Conquest, and the disposal of it was in the hands of the *Procurators*, and particularly he relates that *Pontius Pilate* placed *Caiaphas* in that high station. Moreover, we read in *Eusebius* (*Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 12.*) that *Annas* was deposed from the High-Priests Office by the Roman Power, and taken in again after *Caiaphas*, who fell into the Empe-
rours

ours displeasure. Now, this state of things among the Jews renders that Opinion which I have offer'd, very probable: especially if we call to mind what *Josephus* attests, that the High-Priests used to hold their Title after their Place was disposed of.

And we are not to marvel that *Anas* is named before *Caiaphas*, for there are these two good Reasons for it; the one is this, he was (as the Jewish Histories inform us) a Man of Great Worth, and accordingly of Great Repute and Esteem among the Jews; the other Reason is, because he was Father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, as the Evangelist assures us. Now, this Honourable Relation is a good ground of his having the Priority, and *Grotius* acquiesces in it.

From the whole I conclude that we cannot gather from the words before us, that there were two High-Priests, but one only; the other being call'd *High-Priest*, because he had formerly been in that Office: so he retain'd the Name still. And he was (as we read) employed in the Jewish Council which promoted the Condemnation and Death of our Saviour, out of that Respect

and Honour which the Jews pay'd to him, both as he was so nearly related to the High-Priest, and as he was generally accounted a Person of Understanding and Skill in such weighty Affairs.

EXER.

EXERCITATION V.

Whether *Judas* was present
at the Lord's Supper,
and receiv'd it, with the
rest of the Apostles.

22 LUKE 21.

*But behold, the hand of him
that betrayeth me is with me
on the Table.*

THIS Text, with some others, is
alledg'd as a Proof of *Judas's* ha-
ving been admitted to the Lord's Supper,
for these words seem to have been spoken
by our Saviour at the very time of his
Instituting the Holy Supper: and yet
there are other Texts (which shall be par-
ticularly

ticularly mention'd afterwards) that imply *Judas's* Dismission before the Institution and Celebration of that Sacred Feast. After the warm Disputes on both sides, I conceive this Problem cannot be rightly discussed, unless we carefully attend to what * *Josephus* the Jewish Historian, and *Buxtorf*, and others well vers'd in the Jewish Customs, have deliver'd concerning the *Passover-Supper* and the Attendants of it. Wherefore we are to know, that according to them there was first the *Paschal Lamb* eaten according to the Law: then there followed their *Ordinary Repast*, the Common Supper: and after these a *Post-Supper* or Collation. These three are distinctly mentioned by the Jewish Writers: and accordingly we find that these three were observ'd by our Saviour and his Apostles when they kept their last Passover. I know it is the usual way among the generality of Writers to distinguish between the *Paschal Supper* and the *Lord's Supper*, and that is sufficient, they think. But hereby they make themselves incapable of answering this Difficulty, and which indeed can't be solv'd but by this Triple Entertainment, the last of which was turn'd into the Lord's Supper: I shall make it my business therefore to

* De Bello Jud. lib. c.17.

demonstrate this Threefold Repast out of the Writings of the Evangelists, (which I never yet saw fully perform'd by any Authour) and thence to satisfie the Reader concerning the present Query.

I. We distinctly read of the *Passover-Supper*, 26 *Matth.* 20. *Now when the even was come, he sat down with the twelve,* that is, to eat the Paschal-Lamb, called the *Passover* in the foregoing Verse. None can deny that these words refer to the Paschal Supper, for they immediately follow upon *the Disciples making ready the Passover, as Jesus had appointed them, v. 19.* And so it is equally evident that those words in *v. 21.* *καὶ ἐσθίουσαν αὐτοῖς*, as they did eat, refer to this Ritual or Paschal Supper, for you see there is an immediate Connection between them. Of this also speaks *St. Mark*, 14 chap. 16, 17, 18 verses, *They made ready the Passover: and in the evening he cometh with the twelve,* i.e. (as is plain from the preceding words) eats the Passover with them, and as they sat, and did eat, &c. namely, as they sat and did eat the Paschal Supper. So *St. Luke* 22 chap. 13, 14 v. *They made ready the Passover, and when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve Apostles with him.* And in *St. John* 13 chap. 2 v. *Supper being ended* hath relation to the Supper of

of the Paschal Lamb, as appears from the immediately foregoing Verse, where the *Feast of the Passover* is mention'd. In the Greek it is δειπνὸς γενομένης (not γενομένης, i. e. *Supper being come*, or *in supper time*, as some would interpret it) which signifies the *concluding of Supper*. For this expression *Supper being ended*, and that other *he riseth from Supper*, v. 4. are of the same import, and acquaint us that Christ having eaten the Paschal Supper with his Apostles, he continued no longer at the Table, but rose, and left the Apostles there, (it is likely, for we do not read that they rose from the Table) and then (as the Evangelist informs us) *he laid aside his garments, and took a towel, and girded himself, and poured water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples feet, &c. 4, 5 v.* Which was in imitation of the Jewish Custom that then prevail'd, for the Jews not only before they laid down to eat the Paschal Supper wash'd their feet, but afterwards they wash'd them again, before they betook themselves to the ordinary Supper, which followed the Paschal one.

But it will be *objected*, That it is said by St. Matthew and St. Mark, *as they did eat*, which is hardly reconcileable with St. John's *Supper being ended*. To which I answer, St. Matthew's words ἐσθίουσαν αὐτοῖς, though they are in the *Present Tense*, are

are to be understood in the *Time past*, as it is common to put one Tense for another. There are abundant Instances of this *Enallage*, but I will choose out one that is on all accounts unexceptionable, because it is of the very same word here used, and by the same Evangelist. *They that had eaten* (viz. of the miraculous Loaves) *were about five thousand men*, saith St. Matthew, 14 Matth. 21. which in the Original is οἱ ἐσθίοντες, &c. *they that eat*, and yet our Translators rightly render it *they that had eaten*, for it is plain that the Evangelist speaks of what was done, and not what was doing. So here ἐσθίωντων αὐτοῦ should be translated *they having eaten*, which is the same with *Supper being ended*. That is, the Paschal Supper being concluded, Christ rose from the Table and washed his Disciples feet, as we have heard. And after that he returned to the Table, and proceeded to partake of the Second or Ordinary Supper, and so I come to speak of that in the next place.

II. There was *another Supper* or Eating that succeeded the Passover, and it was the Jews *Common Supper*. It hath been thought by some Learned Men that neither St. Matthew nor St. Mark make express mention of this, for this Supper and the other being both together, as it were, these

these Evangelists make not any distinction between them. But in my Opinion this matter is misrepresented, and the relation which the foresaid Evangelists have given is overlook'd. For the former of them having mention'd the Paschal Supper, (as we saw before) he proceeds in due order, and gives an account of the *Second or Common one* thus, *ἐδοῦντων αὐτοῖς*, after they had eaten, he said, *Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me*, 26 Matth. 21. And in 23 v. *He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, &c.* Here is distinctly set down this other Supper, different from the Paschal one: for a Supper or Eating after another is a different and distinct Supper or Eating. So St. Mark observes the same order with St. Matthew, and tells us that after they had sat and eaten (*ἀνακειμένων αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἐδοῦντων*) Jesus said, *Verily I say unto you, one of you that eateth with me shall betray me*, 14 chap. 18 v. And v. 20. *It is one of the twelve that dippeth with me in the dish.* Here is a Second eating, if that which is after the First be so: and it is no other then that *Ordinary Supper* which the Jews always had after the *Passover Supper*. And it must needs be that Second Repast, because 'tis so plainly distinguish'd both from the Passover and the Lord's Supper, which latter these Evangelists mention as a distinct

stinct thing, as you shall see anon. It appears then hence, that these two Inspired Historians have not omitted (as some thought) the *Ordinary Eating*, which constantly accompanied the Ritual and Sacramental one.

And then, as to the other Evangelists, this Common Eating is particularly recorded by them. St. *Luke* observes the same method and order which the other Sacred Penmen did, but with a little Obscurity, which therefore I will here clear up. After he had spoken of the Paschal Feast, 22 chap. 14 v. he takes notice of the other Supper, by relating what was done at the beginning of it, for then it was usual to hand about to one another a Cup of Wine, of which he here speaks, v. 17. *He took the Cup and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide it among your selves.* This, as the Jewish Writers inform us, was the Custom of the *Jews*, and we are sure it is a distinct Collation from the Lord's Supper, because we read in the very next verses that *Christ took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it: and likewise the cup.* Which no Man can imagine to be the same Cup with the other before mention'd. Therefore it is manifest that it belongs to a Distinct Entertainment, namely, that Common one which used to succeed the Paschal Supper.

Lastly,

Lastly, St. *John* also, who makes mention of the first Supper, speaks of this Second one, which was the Usual Repast of the Jews; and he more largely insists upon it, and what was done at it, than any other of the Evangelists, namely, from the beginning of the 2d Verse of the 13th Chapter to almost the end of it. It is vain to think (as Dr. *Lightfoot* and some others do) that St. *John* here speaks of some other Supper, to wit, at *Bethany* two days before the Passover, for there are many things in this Chapter which discover it to be parallel with those Chapters of the other Evangelists which relate the Eating of the Passover, and more especially what is said about *Judas's* betraying Christ. And here this Ordinary Meal is expressly taken notice of, v. 12. *After he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments (which before he had laid aside) he sat down again.* This second sitting down to Table was not a renewing the first Supper, that is, the Paschal one, but the beginning another, namely, the Common one. Which appears from this, that St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, as well as St. *John*, agree in this, that our Saviour acquainted the Apostles at the Table that *one of them*, viz. *Judas* should betray him, and let them know who it was by dipping in the dish, and giving

him

him a Sop, 26 Matth. 21, 23. 14 Mark 18, 20. 13 John 21, 26. Now, all this was done in the time of the *Second Supper*: for what was that *ῥαψιον*, that morsel and sop, as that word denotes? and what was the dipping of it? It is not to be doubted but that this is to be explain'd by what we read in Jewish Writers, who treat of the Celebration of the Passover. They tell us that after the eating of the Paschal Lamb, it was the custom of the Jews to sit down to a *Second Supper*, in which they did eat Herbs and unleaven'd Bread, the Master of the House first dipping his Morsel, then his Family doing so after him. Which shews that this sop and the dipping of it, it is likely in the juice of those Herbs, or in some liquor the Herbs were moistned with, appertain to that Second Course.

I know Dr. Hammond interprets the *ῥαψιον* and the dipping otherwise, for according to him that Greek word, which we render a Sop, is a Crust of Bread which at the *Post-cænium* they used to distribute about, with a Cup of Wine. And dipping refers not (he saith) to the Crust or piece of Bread as if it were moistned, but it only signifies Christ's putting his hand in the Dish wherein the Bread was, and taking a piece of Bread out of the Dish, and giving it to Judas. But first,

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here is a mistake about the *Post-cænium*, for this was not till *after the ordinary Supper* which followed the *Paschal* one, whereas St. *John* and those other two Evangelists are now speaking of that Ordinary Supper which always went *before the Post-cænium*. Again, it is very odd and unaccountable to make *the putting of the hand* into a Vessel or Dish, and *dipping a Morfel with the hand* to be synonymous: for it is clear from the disposition of the words, that ἐμβάλλας dipping refers not to the *hand*, but to the ἄρτον, the morsel or piece of bread. St. *John* is very plain, *when he had dipped the sop*, saith he, *he gave it to Judas*, 13 John 26.

Wherefore dismissing this interpretation, I adhere to that which I before mentioned, namely, that this passage doth refer to the usual practice of the Jews at their Ordinary Supper which accompanied the Passover. And thus we see that St. *John* in his 13th Chapter speaks of this Ordinary Supper, as well as of the *Paschal* one: and at this Supper it was that Christ discours'd of his being betray'd by *Judas*, and at this Supper was the Sop given to the Traitor. After which *he immediately went out*, v. 30. he went out to contrive his Treason, and to compass his execrable design of delivering up our Lord to the Jews: and consequently he stayed

stayed not to partake of the *Holy Communion* with the other Apostles. And of this I come next to speak.

III. There is the *After-Supper* which is distinct from the two other foregoing Repasts. For as the Jews had an Ordinary Supper after the Passover, so they had a Collation after that, a *Post-Cœnium*, as it is generally call'd by Writers. It was not only a Custom of the Jews after the Passover to eat Herbs and unleavened Bread, the Master of the Family first dipping his Morfel, and then the rest (as you heard before :) but moreover, after this, he was wont to take Bread and break it into pieces, and distribute a part to every Guest : and then he took a Cup of Wine, and first drank of it himself, and afterwards gave it to the rest of the Company, adding to each distribution a form of Benediction. This was the Original and Pattern of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This Sacred Institution was grounded on the *Jews After-Supper*, when the Master of the Family in the close of the Ordinary Supper and all Festivals, took Bread and distributed it, and so Wine, and commended it to those that were present. This now, and for ever afterwards among Christians, is changed into that solemn Ordinance which is sti-

led the *Lord's Supper*. Of this *St. Matthew* speaks, 26 chap. 26 v. *After they had eaten* (for so the *Greek* ought to be translated, as I shew'd before) *i. e.* after they had eaten the Ordinary Supper, *Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body.* And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.* There was another *ἑσθίωνων αὐτοῦ* mentioned before, v. 21. which related to the eating of the Pass-over-Supper, but *this ἑσθίωνων αὐτοῦ* v. 26. refers to the third Eating, for the Conjunction *δε* distinguishes it from the other (which was the second :) as that Particle is well known to signifie. So that it is clear that *St. Matthew* gives us here a particular account of Christ's instituting the Holy Supper or Eucharist, in the close of the Ordinary and Common Supper.

Of this likewise *St. Mark* speaks, 14 chap. 22 v. *After they had eaten* (for so here also it must be rendred) *Jesus took bread, and blessed it, &c.* that is, after the Common Supper Christ instituted his own. The like is testified by *St. Luke*, 22 chap. 19, 20 v. *He took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it unto them, &c. likewise the cup after supper, i. e.* after the

the Ordinary Supper. And it is called the *cup after supper*, to distinguish it from the *cup before or at supper*, mention'd v. 17. namely, the first cup or draught of Wine at the Common Supper, when it was their custom to give thanks; or crave a Blessing on the Meal. We see that Christ did not mix his Supper with the *Passover* or the *Common Repast*, but made it a distinct thing. Which is taken notice of also by the Apostle, 1 Cor. 11. 25. *He took the cup when he had supped.* But as for St. John, though he speaks in his 13th Chapter of the *Paschal Supper* which Christ celebrated with his Apostles, and of the *Ordinary Supper* which followed that, yet he proceeds not so far as the *Post-cœnium*, or *Holy Communion*, into which it was changed by our Saviour. And the reason may be because the particular instituting and celebrating of the Eucharist had been distinctly and fully set down in the other three Evangelists who wrote before him. And therefore as in other places of his Gospel he omits several passages which had been already related by them, so here he doth the same, and makes no mention of the Lord's Supper which followed the Paschal and Common one. However, so far as his 13th Chapter relates these latter, it must be joyn'd with the other Gospels that speak of this matter.

Thus I have given an Account of the *Three Suppers* which are distinctly spoken of : and this is their true Order , Christ and his Apostles did first eat the Passover, then their Ordinary Meal, then they did eat the Bread, and drink the Wine of the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, which was substituted by him in the place of the *Post-cœnium*.

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Now from hath been thus premised it is not difficult to decide that Controversie, namely, Whether the Traitor *Judas* was at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. According to that Scheme which I have presented out of the Evangelists , it is plain he was at the Paschal and Common Supper, but there is not a word of his being at the other.

It is true that the generality of Writers make use of 26 *Matth.* 26. to prove the contrary, for there it is said, *As they were eating, Jesus took bread, &c. and gave it to his disciples, of whom Judas was one :* therefore he, as well as the rest, received the Sacramental Bread. But I have shew'd that this is a distinct eating from that of the Passover and of the Ordinary Supper, and that though *Judas* was present at these, yet he was not at the other, for it is said expressly, *he having received the sop, went immediately out, 13 John 30.* And I have shew'd that the *sop* or *morsel* belong'd to the

the Ordinary Meal of the Jews. And it is certain it was no part of the *Lord's Supper*, where there were only Bread and Wine, and they separately delivered, and taken. So that it is manifest that *Judas* went out before the Sacrament was instituted, for he went out as soon as he received the Sop, which was the Common Refreshment that preceded the Institution of the Lord's Supper. Though Christ gave him a Sop, yet not the Bread and Wine, for he did not stay till this Sacrament was administred.

This seems to put an end to the Controversie : but some begin it again by starting those words which are the ground of this present Discourse, *The hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the Table*; from which they collect that *Judas* received the Eucharist, for this Evangelist brings in this passage not before, but after he had mentioned the instituting of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Whence they argue, and not without great shew of Reason, that the Traitor was present at that holy Feast. But when we have narrowly search'd into the matter, and diligently compared this Evangelist with the rest, we shall find that that Shew disappears. For it is fit and reasonable that a single Evangelist's words should be interpreted by what the others

say about the same matter: it is just and requisite that St. *Luke* should be expounded by St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, who (as we may satisfy our selves by perusing the places) bring in these words, or words that are to the same purpose, as spoken by Christ at the Ordinary Supper: *Verily I say unto you, One of you shall betray me.*——*He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me,* 26 *Matth.* 21, 23. *Verily I say unto you, One of you which eateth with me, shall betray me,* 14 *Mark* 18. And v. 20. *It is one of the twelve that dippeth with me in the dish.* And then immediately after, both these Evangelists proceed to relate the Institution of the Lord's Supper. So that the foresaid passage cannot belong to this Supper, because the Matter of Fact is this, Towards the end of the Paschal Supper Christ rose from the Table, and wash'd his Disciples feet, and then return'd again to the Table, and did eat of the Second Course, as was the Custom among the Jews. And at that time it was that he acquainted them (among other things) that one of them that was there present would betray him: and not long after *Judas* left the Company: and then our Saviour began the Institution of his Supper.

But how then are we to take St. *Luke's* words? and how can we reconcile them with what the other two Evangelists say? For what St. *Luke* here delivers is set down after Christ's instituting of his Holy Supper. I answer, It is reasonable to think that there is a *Transposition* in this place of St. *Luke*, which is no unusual thing in Scripture. That some parts of the Sacred History are misplaced, as in the Book of *Genesis*, and in the Story of *Saul* and *David*, and in sundry other places, is easie to prove: and indeed it is so evident that it is freely confess'd on all hands. Particularly this is usual in the Evangelical History, and many plain and undeniable Instances of it are produced by Critical Expositors. So it is here, these words of St. *Luke*, and what follows to the 24th Verse, are transposed, and should have been brought in at the latter end of the 18th Verse, where the Evangelist had been mentioning the *Ordinary Supper*. This is the true order and series of the History, and it is an easie matter to set it right, especially seeing we have the other Evangelists to help and direct us in the doing of it: and they having shewed us the way, it will be very unreasonable not to follow them. Let us not then be concern'd that this passage is postpon'd, seeing we know how

how to rectifie it, and seeing this ὁσέων
 μεγάλων is no uncommon thing in the
 best Writers. Let us rather be thankful
 for that ample discovery which the Evan-
 gelists have made concerning the present
 matter. I have been very curious in com-
 paring the Texts in their several Wri-
 tings together, (for I look'd upon that
 as the best way to give me light into the
 Controversie) and I hope the unpreju-
 diced Reader will find that it turns to a
 good account, and that it is thereby
 made evident that *Judas* received not the
 Sacrament with the other Apostles.

And then as to the *Reason of the thing*,
 it is not probable that our Blessed Savi-
 our would permit that false and perfidi-
 ous Wretch to be at the Holy Commu-
 nion. Though we had not evinced this
 from clear proofs in the Evangelical Hi-
 story, yet our Judgments would lead us
 to believe it. For what our Saviour said
 on another occasion, holds true here, *It*
is not meet to take the childrens bread, and
cast it unto dogs, 15 Matth. 26. These
 Sacred Viands were not to be exposed to
 prophane Mouths. That Holy Repast
 was not design'd for the entertaining of
 such unhallowed and hellish Guests. For
 we not only read that *Satan enter'd into*
Judas before he went to the Chief Priests
 to agree with them about betraying his
 Master,

Master, 22 Luke 3. but that after the sop
he entred into him, 13 John 27. And can
we imagine that one that was doubly
fill'd with the Devil was permitted to
partake of the Body and Blood of
Christ? Such an Instance as this would
disparage the Excellency of those Holy
Mysterics, and might too justly be made
use of to excuse the rash and impious ap-
proaches of prophane Men to the Table of
the Lord.

I grant that several of the *Fathers*, as
St. Cyprian, *Augustine*, *Jerom*, *Chrysoftom*,
Theodoret were of Opinion that *Judas* was
admitted to that Holy Feast. So were
most of the *Schoolmen*, and the generali-
ty of the *Romanists*. And among the
Reformed are *Beza*, *Peter Martyr*, *Bucer*;
of our own Divines, *Hamond* and *Light-
foot*, and others of our Church. But
some of the Ancient Fathers held the
Negative, as *Clement the Roman*, *Tatianus*,
Hilary, *Theophylact*, &c. Of the Moderns
of the *Roman Church* are *Turrianus* and
Salmeron. *Durandus* is a dissenter from
the rest of the *Schoolmen*; and holds that
Judas was not at the Sacrament. As for those
of the *Protestant Perswasion*, we find them
divided, for *Calvin* stands Neuter, and
pronounces it uncertain at what time *Ju-
das* went out, and consequently whether
he staid till the Eucharist was past. But
Musculus,

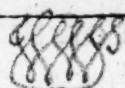
Musculus, *Piscator*, *Danaus* are positive that he staid not. And *Zanchy* on the Fourth Commandment declares it as his Judgment, that he can't believe that *Judas* was admitted to the Sacramental Supper, because it contradicts the History of *St. John* the Evangelist, 13 chap. 30 v.

Some perhaps will alledge *our Church* to be of a different Perswasion, for in one of the Exhortations appointed to be read by the Minister to give Warning for the Celebration of the Holy Communion, there are these words, [Repent you of your sins, or else come not to the Holy Table, lest after the taking of that Holy Sacrament, the Devil enter into you, as he entred in *Judas*.] But these words being Ambiguous, we cannot peremptorily say what is the decision of the Church, for she doth not say that the Devil enter'd into *Judas* after he receiv'd the Sacrament, but only warns us against the Devil's taking possession of us after we have been at the Holy Ordinance. Besides, in things of this nature, which are not of the foundation of Religion, nor necessary to be known in order to Salvation, there may be different Perswasions in Churches, and among the Members of them: therefore whilst we are discoursing on these matters, though we offer our own Sentiments, yet we condemn none. Perhaps

our

our Church, out of that respect and deference which she bears to the Ancient *Fathers*, may have enclined this way : but this I am well assured of, that she censures none for thinking otherwise.

I have used a Freedom , and such as is not extravagant, for I have built my Assertion on the Evangelists, who, as I apprehend, do make mention of the *Paschal Supper* , and the *Ordinary one* , and the *Supper of our Lord* : whence it appears that *Judas* was debarr'd the priviledge and honour of partaking of the Sacrament : and I conceive that the disbelief of this proceeds from the not observing the Difference between these Three distinct Eatings.

Excellent. 

EXERCITATION VI.

Whether in the following
Chapter St. *Paul* speaks
in his own Person, or
in that of an unrege-
nerate man.

7 R O M. 14. to the end of the Chapter.

*For we know that the Law is
spiritual, but I am carnal,
sold under sin; for that which
I do, I allow not, &c.*

THough it is very manifest that the
Apostle in these Verses speaks of
the *Double Principle* that is in every Good
Man, namely, his corrupt and fleshly
part, and also that other Contrary Spring
in

in him, his Regenerate and Sanctified part; though this, I say, is very manifest and clear, and is again and again inculcated in this Chapter; and though the Apostle all along speaks in the first Person, and thereby doth as it were tell us that he means himself, and his own state and condition, yet there is a great number of Expositors who will by no means allow that a Double Principle of Nature and Grace, of Corruption and Regeneration, is here intended, or that St. *Paul* speaks of himself in this part of the Chapter. But this is that which they hold, that the Apostle assumes another Person, and represents an Unbelieving Jew, and that an Unregenerate Man is Characterized here, yea, that it is impossible that this Character should agree to any one else.

Now, that which I will undertake is this, 1. To attend to what is alledged in behalf of this Opinion, and fairly to return an Answer to it. 2. Positively to shew, from the very words themselves, that the Apostle here doth not speak of one that was Unregenerate, but of himself who was Converted, and in a Regenerate State: and consequently all that he saith in this part of the Chapter may be applied to every Regenerate, Good and Holy Man.

First,

First, To back the contrary Interpretation, they make use of the Authority of the Ancient Writers of the Church, as *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, and other Greek Fathers; and among the *Latin* ones, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Augustine*, *Jerom*, *Ambrose*. This Text is also interpreted of a Natural Man by *Photius*; and among the *Moderns* by *Bucer* and *Musculus*. But in Answer to this I say,

1. The Fathers and Writers, whether Ancient or Modern, have been mistaken in their giving the sense of several places of Scripture, and therefore we are not to depend upon them, and to regulate our judgments wholly by what they have dictated.

2. We oftentimes mistake the Expositors of the Scriptures: and I could shew in some of these before-named that we have done so in the interpretation of this part of the Chapter which is now before us. We wrest their words to a meaning which they never intended. Some of them do not absolutely assert that the Apostle personates an Unbeliever.

3. It is certain that we must except Two at least (we shall hear of more afterwards) out of the Catalogue of those Fathers, and those two are perhaps as considerable as all the rest, upon this account

(I mean) that they were persons of more than ordinary freedom and impartiality, and took not up Notions on trust, but thoroughly examined the Doctrines which were then on foot, and, as they saw occasion, rejected some of them. It is well known that the Great St. *Jerom* did so. He was a Man of a most generous spirit, and scorn'd to be enslav'd to the Opinions of others, when he saw there was no foundation for them. He loved to utter bold Truths, and it had been happy for the Church of Christ if this Holy and Learned Man had had more followers. Particularly, he throws aside their opinion who interpret this Seventh Chapter to the *Romans* of an Unregenerate Person, although once * he was of another apprehension concerning this matter. As for that Great and Renowned Father St. *Augustine*, it is true he did not at first assert that the Apostle in this Chapter speaks all along in the person of one under the Law, and not under Grace: but he lets us know that afterwards he chang'd his mind, and understood this Chapter concerning St. *Paul* converted. In several Books that he wrote this plainly appears, *De Nuptii & Concupiscentiâ l. 1. c. 21. Contra 2 Epistolas Pelagianor. l. 1. c. 10.*

* Lib. 2. cont. Jovinianum. Lib. 83. Quæst. Lib. 1. ad Simplicianum.

Cont. Julian. l. 6. c. 10 & 11. In the latter of which he hath this most remarkable passage, which I will set down in his own words, *Non ego solus, aut primus sic istum Pauli locum intellexi; imò verò ego prius eum aliter intellexeram, vel potius non intellexeram, quod mea quædam illius temporis etiam Scripta testantur.*———*Sed postea melioribus & intelligentioribus cessi, vel potius ipsi (quod fatendum est) Veritati, ut viderim in illis Apostoli vocibus gemitum esse Sanctorum contra carnales concupiscentiarum dimicantium: qui cum sint mente spirituales, adhuc tamen isto corruptibili corpore, quod aggravat animam, rectè intelliguntur esse Carnales.*———*Hinc factum est ut sic ista intelligerem, quemadmodum intellexit Hilarius, Gregorius, Ambrosius, & ceteri Ecclesiæ Sancti notique Doctores, qui & ipsum Apostolum contra carnales concupiscentias, quas habere volebat, & tamen habebat, strenuè conflixisse, eundemque Conflictum suum illis suis verbis contestatum fuisse senserunt.* Here this Pious and Learned Writer freely and fully declares his mind, and at the same time acquaints us what was the sense of other Fathers, as particularly one of the Gregory's of the Greek Church, and Hilary and Ambrose of the Latin, though this latter (as we saw before) was put into the Catalogue of those that interpreted St. Paul otherwise than St. Augustine

Augustine here doth. And now I have only this to add under this Head, that it is very *Considerable* that those two excellent Persons *St. Jerom* and *St. Augustine* retracted their former Sentiment about this matter, because this very thing invites us to agree with them in their perswasion. For we may be sure that they would not have quitted their former Opinion, unless there were very good Reason for it. This Retraction therefore of theirs may be very serviceable to establish us in that perswasion which they at length took up, because we know it was done with great Thoughtfulness, and after mature Deliberation.

4. That those other Fathers above cited, and any other Christian Writers of the first Centuries understood this Chapter otherwise, is not to be wondred at, if we search into the true Reasons and Occasions of it, which I find have been neglected, and not taken notice of. One thing, I conceive, which gave rise to this Interpretation, was this, the Christians were generally in those Primitive times of a great zeal and vigour, and aspired to great acquirements and heights in Religion; and thence they thought that these words of the Apostle were too low and flat if applied to a Regenerate Man. It was their ambition to Excel in Christianity,

nity, and that prompted them to understand the words thus: so that their mistaking the meaning of them proceeded from a noble and worthy Cause, and therefore we can easily excuse in them the misrepresenting of the Apostle.

Again, What *Grotius* suggests, hath furnished me with another *Reason* why the Primitive Christians understood this place of Scripture concerning a Man under the power of sin. This Learned Annotator tells us that in the Apostles days there were some that perverted this passage of *St. Paul*, and wrested it to their own destruction, to which he thinks refers *2 Pet. 3. 16*. By misunderstanding the Apostle's words, and the Character here given, they indulged themselves in their Vices and all manner of Lewdness and Exorbitancy, and pretended that this was consistent with the state of Grace and Holiness. Now, I offer this as a probable Conjecture, that because some were apt to apply this place of the Apostle in a wrong meaning, and to make use of it to ill purposes, thence it was that the Ancient Writers of the Church, who commented upon this part of the Chapter, were inclined to fix such a sense on the words as should not be made use of to that end and design. Because they saw that too many made a false Construction of the Apostle's words,

and

and thereby endanger'd their everlasting welfare, therefore they betook themselves to an Exposition which they thought would defeat that evil Consequence. And if any one thinks this Suggestion improbable, as if it were unworthy of those Good Men, I can convince him by several Instances that the thing is so. I will mention but one now, the interpretation of those words, *the God of this world, &c.* 2 Cor. 4. 4. which words *Irenæus* and *Chrysostom* and several other Fathers understood concerning the *True God*, or *God properly so call'd*, that they might thereby obviate the Opinion of those that held, with *Marcion*, that there were *Two Gods*, and made use of this Text to uphold that Doctrine. Wherefore that those Hereticks might have no hold here, *St. Augustine* (as well as the fore-mentioned Fathers) and others, interpreted this place concerning the *True Deity*.

And so here, in the present case, the Fathers thought good to make use of this Expedient; they out of a good intention and design represented the words so as to prevent and hinder the ill Consequences which too often were observed to attend the other Exposition of the place. But that which ought to be said on this occasion is this, we are not to quit the *true interpretation* of this or any other Texts,
V 3 because

because we see some Men make ill use of it : and as for a *false one*, we are not to embrace it, though it was occasioned perhaps by the Extraordinary Lives of the first Christians, and commenc'd upon a pious and well-meant design. So that *Grotius's* * Doxology is in vain, when he praises God that the best Christians, that is, those of the three first Centuries, understood these words concerning an *Unregenerate Man* : for upon examination we find that their Interpretation, though well intended, was built upon Mistake.

But if some Men will still insist upon the suffrage of the *Ancients*, and urge *Authority* for their Defence of their interpreting this portion of Scripture, then they must be told, that they have reckon'd too fast already whilst they numbred St. *Augustine* and St. *Jerom* among their Abettors : and for the future they ought to take notice (seeing *Authority* is so prevalent with them) how the contrary exposition of the Apostle's words is asserted and vouched by those Excellent Fathers and Great Lights of the Christian Church (not to mention *Clement the Roman*, *Constitut. lib. 5. c. 13.*) St. *Hilary*, *Gregory*, *Ambrose*, *Prosper*, and *Gregory the Great*, as also by *Primasius* and *Anselm*. Some

* *Deo laus sit quod optimi, &c. In 7 Rom. 19.*

of the Learnedst of the *Roman Church*, as their Schoolmen *Lombard* and *Aquinas*, their Cardinal *Cajetan*, *Cornelius à Lapide*, *Menochius*, *Pererius*, and that most judicious and most valuable Commentator on the Apostolical Epistles *Estius*, expound it of a *Righteous* and *Regenerate* Man, and declare it to be most agreeable to the Scope of the Apostle in that Chapter. Among those of the *Reformed* not only *Calvin*, and several other Foreign Divines, but some of our Own Expositors (expecially before the *Remonstrants* Notions had leavened their Writings) understand the words of a *Righteous* Man, and hold that *St. Paul* speaks in his own person. Let not then *Authority* be named any more as a bar to our assent to the Doctrine which I have propounded, for I think it goes clearly on our side.

And then, let it be remembered who they were that anciently promoted and advanced the other Opinion. Were they not *Pelagius* and his Disciples, who did it to extol and magnifie the power of Free-will? Insomuch that it seems to have been the occasion of *St. Augustine's* altering his former Sentiments concerning this Chapter. When he saw (as he tells us himself) that the *Pelagians* made use of some passages in it to advance the Natural Strength of Mens will above what was fitting,

ting, he soon renounc'd his former thoughts about them, being convinced that there could be no such meaning in them, and that St. Paul, who in other places constantly beats down the power of Man's will by Nature, would not here set it up.

And we might remember this likewise, that as the *Pelagians* of old, so the *Soci-nians* of late interpret this Chapter of a Man under Sin, and in an unconverted state. They are all of them very fierce in this Opinion, and bid all beware of interpreting this Chapter otherwise. This, I think, may suffice to take off that part of our Adversaries *Defence* of their Interpretation, namely, that it is back'd by sufficient *Authority*. I have shew'd what it is, I leave the Reader to judge of the Sufficiency.

In the next place, it is urged by them that this is no unusual thing with St. Paul to take on him *the Person* of another. He propounds things in this way, which yet are not so to be understood, as in 3 *Rom.* 7. 1 *Cor.* 6. 12. | 13. 1. 2 *Gal.* 18, 19, 20. If then this *Metaschematism* be usual with the Apostle, it is probable that in this Chapter of his Epistle to the *Romans* he speaks after that manner. This is their Plea. But if we peruse these places, we shall soon be perswaded that they are al-

ledg'd

ledg'd to no purpose. For as to the first
 of them, which runs thus, *If the truth of
 God hath more abounded through my lye un-
 to his glory, why yet am I also judged a sin-
 ner?* here is no such mode of speech as
 they talk of. Any one may perceive how
 this is to be understood, if he will but
 take notice that this is brought in by way
 of *Objection*, and is as much as if the Apo-
 stle had said, "Such a one will further
 say in way of Cavil, If God's truth
 and faithfulness be advanced by the
 falshood and faithlesness of Men, then
 Men should not be punished for that
 their faithlesness, nay, they ought not
 to be censured, and accounted Trans-
 gressors. Whence it is plain that it was
 intended to be an universal way of speak-
 ing, and takes in St. Paul himself as well
 as others. Which is further evident from
 the Apostle's manner of speaking in one
 of the foregoing Verses, *If our unrighte-
 ousness commend the righteousness of God,
 what shall we say?* Where we see there is
 an *Objection* of the like nature with the
 former, and it is as if the Apostle had said,
 If the infidelity of Men be so far from
 making void the faithfulness of God, that
 it renders it more remarkable and illustri-
 ous, then Men are not to be blamed for
 their infidelity. As the stile before was
my and I, so now 'tis *our and we*, to shew
 that

that the Apostle means both himself and others, and consequently doth not take on him another Person, and exclude himself.

That other place, *All things are lawful for me*, is to be understood without doubt as the words are spoken, without any Personating of another; for the Apostle speaks here of things indifferent in their own nature, such as are neither commanded nor forbidden, as appears from the Context. Now, 'tis certain that all such things were as lawful for him as another. The third place they alledge is that, *Though I speak with the tongue of men and angels, and have not charity, I am become a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And though I, &c.* But these words are a meer *Supposition* (as any one may discern at first sight, for *though I speak, &c.* is equivalent with *suppose I should speak, &c.*) and therefore this passage is impertinently made use of on this occasion. Some make mention of that place in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, *If I build again the things which I destroyed, &c.* as if it could be proved thence, that though the Apostle speaks as of himself, yet his meaning is otherwise, and he personates other people. But there is not the least ground for such a fancy as this, for all that is said there is meant of himself, and of his own person,

person, as the Reader may satisfy himself by consulting the particulars: it is needless to produce them here.

And as for any other places which are alleged as *Prosopopæias*, the Answer is this, That it is true, this way of speaking is used sometimes (but rarely) in the Holy Scriptures, but then you may observe that what is thus delivered is but short, and in a transient way only. But here it is far otherwise, for in twelve Verses together, without any intermission, the Apostle speaks in the first person, which alters the Case, and shews that there is no Fiction of the Person (as some imagine) in all this that is said in this Chapter by St. Paul.

But they will not give up the Cause yet, for they moreover insist on the ample Testimonies of St. Paul's Exemplary Integrity and Circumspect walking, and Zealous Concern for Religion, and the Credit and Honour of it, fully recorded in Scripture; and they oppose these to the Character which is given in this Chapter, and thence urge, that these are Inconsistent, and that it is impossible that these should be applied to the same person, and consequently that a truly Regenerate and Holy Man cannot be here described. Thus they ask, How could the Apostle say of himself that *he was carnal*, that *he was sold under*

under sin, that what he did, he allowed not; that what he would, that he did not, but what he hated, that he did; that in him, that is, in his flesh, dwelt no good thing; that to perform that which is good, he found not; that the good which he would, he did not, and the evil which he would not, that he did; that when he would do good, evil was present with him; that there was a law in his members warring against the law of his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin, which was in his members. How can any one think, say they, that these are the words of a Good and Godly Man? Yea, on the contrary, they declare and maintain that this is the language of a Wicked and Profligate Person.

But this is a great Oversight of these Men, and shews that they are either unacquainted with the Language of Scripture, or wilfully neglect it, and that they are not arrived to a sufficient sense of the Depravity of their Nature, and the Remainders of Vice even in the best of Men. And this I will briefly make good by going through the several Particulars, and shewing that according to the stile and tenour of Scripture, and the Notices we have thence concerning the Corruption that adheres to Mankind, all that is here said by the Apostle may be applied to

to a Righteous and Good Man.

The Apostle might truly say *he was carnal*, v. 14. he being compounded (as all Good Men are) of a fleshly part, as well as a spiritual. And they that Object against this way of speaking, forget the language of the Apostle in 1 Cor. 3. 1. *I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal*: and yet he owns them in the next words to be *babes in Christ*. He acknowledges them to be *in Christ*, that is, Regenerate Persons, though the interest of the flesh did too much discover it self in them at that time. Again, the Apostle exhorts the Converted Christians at Rome to *mortifie and subdue the deeds of the flesh and of the body*, 8 Rom. 13. and the like Advice he gives in several other places to his beloved Converts, which necessarily implies that they were *in part carnal*. I say, *in part*, and that is the true Resolution of the Case. When the Apostle saith, *I am carnal*, he speaks it not simply and absolutely, but as to some part only. And this indeed is that which goes through the whole Discourse; he endeavours to express in variety of words this grand experienced Truth, that every Good and Vertuous Man hath some reliques of sin and of the flesh in him, he is *in part Carnal and Sensual*.

Thus

Thus he saith *he was sold under sin*, that is, not simply and fully, but comparatively and partly, namely, in respect of his Carnal part, as he expressly saith, *v.25. with the flesh* (in contradistinction to the *mind* or spirit) *I serve the law of sin*. This then is the condition of all Regenerate and Good Men in this life, they are both *Freemen* and *Servants*. They are here under a double state, that is, of Liberty and of Slavery, the one as to the power of Grace wrought in them by the Spirit, and the other as to the Corruption of their Nature, and the actual Infirmities they are liable to. I do not see why we should cavil at these terms *sold under sin*, seeing they are the same with the Confession in our Church, *We are tied and bound with the chain of our sins*. Our Church owns this; and the most pious and holy Worshipers constantly acknowledge it in their most solemn and frequent Devotions, that they are in some degree *slaves and captives to sin*. Nay, when we say *we are bound with the chain of our sins*, it is something greater and higher than that of the Apostle, *I am sold under sin*: for here are *bonds* added to *selling*, and *chains* and *fetters* to our *Captivity*. Let no one then who allows of and uses our Publick Prayers, think it unbecoming the Apostle's mouth, to say
with

with all humility, that he was sold under sin.

And it may be observed, that the word here is Passive, *πεπεσμένος* ; I am sold, saith the Apostle, which is far different from what was said of Ahab, that he sold himself to work wickedness, 1 Kings 21.25. which is a positive, resolute and continued act of the Will, and argued that person to be an hardened sinner. But when the Apostle saith he was sold, he denotes that he was a Captive against his Will. It signifies that he was sometimes and in some acts over-master'd by his undue inclinations, and was made a Slave by a Tyrannical Master. He expresses here (as afterwards) the prevalence of sinful Passion and Lust in some instances of his life. These for a time over-power'd him, but the general and stated Course of his life was otherwise.

Or, St. Augustine's Gloss upon the words may give us a good account of them, and shew how applicable they are even to a Good Man, "The Apostle, saith * he, tells us he was sold under sin, in respect of that first Transgression of Adam, whereby he and all Men became so corrupted and depraved in their

* Dixit se venundatum sub peccato quia in primâ transgressionis præcepti ab Adam factâ in Paradiso ita venundatum fuit, Cont. 2. Epist. Pelagianor.

" fleshly

“fleshly and bodily part, that this preferred down their Better part, and thence they may be said to be *sold under sin*. The Apostle was not sold by himself, but by the First and Common Parent of us all, by whose Fall his Posterity is captivated to Sin and Disobedience in a great degree. This may give us some light into St. Paul's expression.

Then, for those Expressions of the Apostle; *That which I do, I allow not: but what I hate, that I do*: and those other words, which are of the very same import, *To perform that which is good, I find not; for the good which I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do*, and which is still the same thing, but in other words, *when I would do good, evil is present with me*, all this is a humble and penitent Complaint of the Apostle concerning the unhappy Remains of Corruption in him, and the dismal effects produced thereby. All is summ'd up in those few words, *The good I would, I do not: and the evil, I would not, that I do*. The meaning of which is easie and obvious, and all persons of unprejudiced minds cannot but see how truly, though unhappily, it is applicable to the most righteous souls upon earth. This I will prove by shewing in *what sense* the Apostle did with great truth, but with unspeakable

speakingable regret, utter those words, *The good that I would, &c.*

First, *Sometimes* I do not at all that good which I would do. This is the unhappy lot of the best Men, but rarely. They are hindred from performing their Duty either out of *Inadvertency*, not duly attending to what is their Concern, or out of *Ignorance* and *Error*, they being not rightly informed, or misunderstanding such or such a part of their duty (for the best Men are in some things for a time misled by an Erroneous Conscience) or out of the *present prevalency of the carnal and sensual part* in them.

Secondly, there is this meaning of the Apostle's words, *the good that I would, I do not*, that is, according to the full Claim of the Law. What I perform is not entirely answerable to that Exact Rule. I do nothing without imperfection and sin. In the best works I do, I find that there are great deficiencies and failures. Thus the Apostle speaks of himself and his actions as compared with the Holy Law of God; he is very apprehensive that he is not able to live up to the Height and Perfection of it.

Thirdly, His words are thus to be interpreted, *The good that I would, I do not so as I would do it.* What I perform in Religion, and in the discharge of my

Duty, is not done so intensely, so cheerfully, so vigorously as I desire. In this respect (as well as others) I find in most of my actions great defects and flaws.

Fourthly, It is not to be doubted that the Apostle meant this likewise, I do not *so much good* as I would. I find not my Ability to perform, answerable to my desires and will. I will and wish to do *more* than I accomplish and bring into act. My actions too often fall short of my inclinations and purposes. A right Godly Man puts himself upon his utmost efforts, and yet he feels that he is desirous and willing to do more good in his life than he doth. The fleshly load, that dead weight oppresses him, so that he cannot rise to those heights of Religion which the spirit and better part aims at.

Fifthly and lastly, When the Apostle saith he can *do none* of these things which he here mentions, he means this also, that he cannot do them *of himself* and *by his own power*: as on the other side, when he saith he *doth all the other things* which are so ill, he understands it of the inbred and inseparable Principle of Corruption in him, and that only. Thus you have the full and ample meaning of St. Paul, when he saith, *The good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.* Which the Great St. Augustine thinks

thinks is a parallel place with 5 Gal. 17. *The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; and these two are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.* The Struggle between the renewed and unrenewed part are so fierce *sometimes*, that you cannot fully and entirely accomplish what you would. This is the Substance of what the same Apostle saith in the Verses that I am now treating of.

Again, Whereas the Apostle saith that *in him dwelleth no good thing*, which seems to exclude a Spiritual and Regenerate part in him, you may take notice that the Apostle uses a Restriction or Limitation, *In me* (saith he) *that is, in my flesh*: which he adds on purpose to let us know what his meaning is, to wit, that there was no good in him as to his fleshly and sensual part: but from the words immediately adjoining, it appears there was *Good in him* in respect of his rational and renewed part, *To will is present with me*. But certainly, if Mens eyes were open'd, and they had attain'd to a true sense of spiritual things, they would not say that those other words, *I know that in me*, i. e. *in my flesh dwelleth no good thing*, are the language of a wicked and unrighteous Man: for Men of that rank and character do not use to speak after this manner; such words

are not heard from them. It is quite another stile and idiom that they are known by : for they are generally either stupid or insensible of their state, or they have a very good opinion of themselves. Neither of which dispositions and tempers will produce such words as these of our Apostle.

As for those words , *I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members*, here, as in all the other Expressions before-mentioned, the Apostle acquaints us that he speaks of the two Contrary Principles which are in all Good Men, that sharp Conflict and Battle between these two : and therefore you see it is fitly set forth by *warring*. And as it is in *War*, some are taken *Prisoners*, and led *captive*, so it is in this Spiritual Combate, the Apostle tells us that he was *brought into captivity to the law of sin*. By which he gives us to understand, that sometimes he was baffled by the Ghostly Enemy, and through weakness of the fleshly and animal part, yielded to temptation, though with all the reluctancy imaginable. Thus it is clear from the several Particulars in this part of the Seventh Chapter to the *Romans*, which I have distinctly consider'd, that they may all of them be truly and safely attributed

to a Regenerate Man and a Good Christian. Which was the first thing I undertook.

The second is this, Positively to shew from the *Scope* and *Design* of this part of the Chapter, and from the *Words Themselves*, that the Apostle doth not *personate another* in this Chapter, but speaks of Himself, and of the state of Righteous and Good Men. First, If we take notice of the *Scope* and *Drift* of this part and division of the Chapter, we shall find That a Key to unlock and explain all that follows. What is it then that this Sacred Writer designs? It is plainly this, to assert and vindicate the Credit of the Law, to maintain its Purity and Perfection, and to shew that *the Law was not sin*, which it seems some objected from what the Apostle had delivered in the beginning of this Chapter. *What shall we say then? is the Law sin*, v. 7. that is, is it the Cause of Sin and Vice, as may seem to follow from what had been said v. 5? To which he answers, *God forbid*; as much as to say, Let it not enter into any Man's thoughts that the Law of God is in any degree the promoter of what is sinful and vicious. Nay, he adds, *I had not known sin, but by the Law*, that is, it is impossible the Law should favour sin, because it discovers it and forbids it. Which

he enlarges upon in the six next Verses, and after all concludes that the *Law* is so far from being blameable, that it is *holy*, *just*, and *good*, and is also *spiritual*, v. 14. that is, it reacheth to the Soul and Spirit, and lays an Obligation upon these, as well as upon the outward Man: and it most deservedly is said to be *spiritual*, because it takes off our minds and affections from what is worldly and material, and leads them to those things which are spiritual, divine and heavenly.

And now, from this Compleat Goodness and Perfect Holiness of the Law the Apostle evinces the Weakness and Infirmary of himself and of all Men, though regenerate and righteous. He shews by instancing in himself, that the most holy Men in this life are not able to come up to the Perfection of the Law. There is no Man can fully perform it, because of the Corruption of his Nature. *For we know*, saith he, *that the Law is spiritual, but I am carnal, sold under sin*, &c. These words, and the rest that follow, are the *Reasons* we see, of what went before. He demonstrates the perfection of the Law from the imperfection, debility and depravity of Mankind. There is no defect in the Law, but there is in us, yea, in the best Men. Sin is not wholly rooted out of them, but there are dregs of the vile and

and corrupt Nature still in them. This short account of the Context, and the Tendency and Scope of it, may convince us that the Apostle speaks not of what he was, but what he is; not of his past, but of his present state. Hereby he would inform us that Sin is not totally purged out of him, but that he still finds in himself a Combat between the Flesh and the Spirit. In short, it appears from the Apostles *Design* in the words that he speaks of himself as Regenerate, and that his *feigning a Person* in this part of the Chapter is it self a Fiction.

Again, I will prove from *the very Words and Expressions themselves*, that what is here said, can't be meant of a Wicked and Ungodly Man, but is applicable only to the Regenerate. The first great Sign and Evidence of a Regenerate Person is that his *Will* is set against Sin: and this is no less than six times mention'd in the Character in this Chapter. *What I will* (Θέλω,) v. 15. that is, what *good* I will. And the contrary to this, which is *evil*, he saith. *he willeth not*, v. 16. *To will is present with me*, v. 18. *The good that I will* (Θέλω), v. 19. and in the same verse, *the evil that I will not*. Again, v. 21. *when I will to do good*, Θέλοντι ποιεῖν. Thus we see that here is a Sanctified *Will*. He is so renewed by Divine Grace that his Faculty is set

right; as to the main bent of it, it is placed upon *Good*.

Further, Not only his Will but his *Affections* are warmly engaged against Sin and all that is offensive to the Divine Being. Which is another infallible Evidence of a *Regenerate* person. *That which I do, I allow not*, saith the Apostle, v. 15. for so *ῥαδὼν* signifies here, and among the *Hellenists*; and so *jadang* denotes among the *Hebrews*, 18 Gen. 19. 1 Psal. 6. 8 Hos. 4. and the like signification hath *ῥαδὼν*, after the *Hebrew* manner, in 7 Matth. 23. 13 Luke 27. *I know you not*, i.e. I allow you not, I reject and abhor you. So when the Apostle saith here, that *he knows not*, *he allows not* the evil which at any time some Actions of his are tainted with, his meaning is that he *loaths* it. As *Estius* well observes on the place, this word refers not to the Intellect, but to the Affections and Will, as is evident from the other words that accompany it, *What I hate*, saith he. Here is a *Detestation* of sin. He saith not only that he *allows not* of it, but that *he hates it*. And as he hates it, so he loves the contrary, yea, he *delights* in it, which is one of the highest degrees and efforts of *Love*. *I delight in the law of God*, v. 22. and he adjoyns, *after the inward man*, which expresses to us what was the real frame of his mind,

and

and the genuine disposition of his soul. He did sincerely and heartily acquiesce and rejoyce in God and his Law. This is above a *Video meliora, probòque*. And this is a true sign of a Godly person, and of one not under the Law, but under Grace, as * St. Augustine well observes.

And moreover, he adds, that he not only *delights* in that which is vertuous, good and holy, but *practises* it: he actually obeys the Divine Will. *I my self serve the Law of God*, v. 25. Grotius would put us off with this Comment, † To serve the Law of God is to be forced to acknowledge it to be good. But this is very mean and sorry, and unworthy of that Learned Man. Especially it looks strange in so Sagacious a Writer to say, one was forced to a thing, when he declares openly that it was done *with his mind*, which denotes great willingness. Assuredly it must be a great Prejudice which this Author lay under, that could make him think, that when the Apostle saith, *he himself with his mind served the law of God*,

* Non video quomodo disceret homo sub lege positus, Condeletor legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem, cum ipsa delectatio boni, quæ etiam non consentit ad malum, non timore peccati, sed amore justitiæ, non nisi Gratia putanda sit. Cont. 2 Epistolæ Pelagianor. l. i. c. 19.

† Servire illum dicit legi Dei, qui eam bonam fateri cogitur. In loc.

it is only a bare confessing that Law to have something of good in it, and that the Person was compelled to this Confession. No certainly, this can't be the meaning of those words. To *serve* or *obey the Divine Law*, and that *with his mind or spirit*, speaks something which is much higher and greater than this: and therefore I desire it may be observ'd, that this Apostle mentions this with a solemn Obtestation and Oath, *God is my witness whom I serve with or in my spirit*, 1 Rom. 9. as if there could not be a Greater thing said to assure those he wrote to of his Integrity and Faithfulness towards God, as well as towards them. To *serve God* and *his Law*, is no other then to transcribe those holy Precepts and Rules into his life and manners. And therefore when he spoke these words, *I myself serve the law of God*, it is as much as if he had said, "Notwithstanding those manifest
 " defects and failings which I own my
 " self to be obnoxious to, yet by the as-
 " sistance of the Divine Grace I am ena-
 " bled to conform my life to the holy
 " Law of God, I sincerely serve him with
 " my whole heart, I make his Will and
 " Word the Standard of my Actions; I
 " set those Sacred Rules before me, and
 " make it the great business of my life to
 " regulate my self and all my doings by
 " them:

them : and (blessed be thy Divine Goodness) in the main strokes of my life I do not swerve from them.

Now whether all this can be the language and sense of a Man remaining in the state of Nature, yea, one that is an obstinate Sinner, I appeal to the Reader. Let us try whether we can apply all the Particulars to such a Man. Can it be said of him, that *he willetb to do good, and willetb not to do evil, that he allows not of sin, but hates it*, and that as to the contrary (which is Vertue and Goodness) *he delights in it*, and *after the inward man*, (namely out of a true and sincere Principle) and lastly, that he actually *serves and obeys the law of God*? All this questionless can't agree to a Man under the power of Vice, and in a state of Unbelief and Unregeneracy. Otherwise we take away all difference between the Regenerate and Unregenerate, the holy and unholy, and we open a gap for the worst of Scepticism and Prophaneness. There are but these three Ingredients that constitute a *Good Man*, that he neither wills sin, nor affects it, nor doth it: and these all are attributed here by the Apostle to himself, and to every Believer and good Christian. Their *Wills*, their *Affections*, and their *Practises* shew them to be truly such. And thus we may be convinced from the very Words

Words and Expressions themselves which the Apostle here uses, that he is to be understood of a Regenerate Man.

But I have not yet done with the Words themselves. I argue further from the 24th Verse, *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* No hardened sinner is thus sensible of the burden of his sin, as the person who speaks these words: no Man under the power and dominion of Vice be- moans his Condition after this manner, and looks upon it as *a body of death*, and earnestly desires and longs to be *delivered from it*. This keen apprehension of the wretchedness of our sinful Nature, and this passionate crying out to be rescued from it, sufficiently acquaints us *who* it is that speaks here.

And what means the *Thanksgiving* in the last Verse? *I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord*. Is this the language of a Man that is Unregenerate? No certainly, and therefore this is an undeniable Argument that St. Paul speaks of himself. But to evade the force of these words Socinus feigns here a *Parentthesis*, from whom Grotius borrowed it, as several other things in his *Annotations* (if they were his) on the *Epistles*. But this is a very vain attempt, for you will find that these words *I thank God, &c.* plainly refer to what went be-

fore,

fore, and that they cohere with them. For questionless there is a *Coherence* between a hearty desire to be delivered from the load and weight of sin, and a joyful returning of Thanks to God for the hopes of this deliverance by Christ Jesus. To any one that considers this, there will appear to be an exact Agreement between these Eucharistical expressions, and what immediately preceded: so that this Clause cannot be look'd upon as inserted by way of *Parenthesis*.

Besides, no Copies that are to be found make these words a *Parenthesis*: but the plain ground of this silly Invention was this only, *Socinus* and others were sensible of the force of this passage as it is here placed, and therefore were willing to be rid of it, but it seems they knew not how to do it without shutting the words up in a *Parenthesis*. And this not the first time that the *Racovian Critics* and their Friends have used this Art. But the Truth will make its way through all such frivolous Oppositions, and unprejudiced Minds will despise such little paltry Artifices. Hence it is observable, that even *Origen* and *Ambrose*, and those other Fathers who were of opinion that the Apostle in the foregoing Verses of this Chapter took upon him the person of another, yet acknowledge that here in *this* passage he

he speaks of himself, and as Regenerate by which Concession they overthrow their Opinion, for any one may discern that the other words are spoken by the same person by whom these are utter'd.

There is still something remaining in this last Verse which will farther confirm us in this perswasion, that the words which I have been treating of in this Exercitation, are not a Character of one overcome by vicious Habits and Affections but of one that was really partaker of the special Grace of God. This is clear from that brief Summary which the Apostle gives us of all that he had said before *So then, with the mind I my self serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin*. These last words of the Chapter are as Convictive as any of the preceding ones, for *αὐτὸς ἐγὼ* (as *Estius* observes) is emphatically spoke, to denote and point out the Apostle *himself*, that none might suspect that he had been speaking in another person. After this signal and peculiar manner the words *αὐτὸς ἐγὼ* are used in 9 *Rom. 3.* where *Grotius* himself takes notice that it is an Emphatic way of speaking. And so it is in other places, as 2 *Cor. 10. 1.* | *12. 13.* But more especially in this place it is of that nature, *αὐτὸς ἐγὼ*, *I my self*, I the same person, who as to my fleshly part do sometimes serve the law

law of sin, do with my mind, that is, my spiritual and renewed part, serve the law of God.

And it is observable that these words are spoken immediately after he had thank'd God through Jesus Christ for the assurance of a full deliverance in time. Notwithstanding this, he owns at present all that he had said before concerning himself, summing it up thus, *I Paul*, the very same person who am subject to the law of sin in respect of the corrupt Principle which dwells in me, have cause to thank God that through Christ I am enabled to obey the Divine Law, and to regulate my life by it.

Nay, there is *this* implied in these Conclusive words of the Apostle, *Ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ*, *this*, I say, that he looks for no other state whilest he is here upon earth. *So then*, saith he, *I my self*, &c. It is thus, and it can't be otherwise in this life. The Children of God must be content to endure the Combat of Flesh and Spirit in themselves, as long as their abode is on this side of Heaven. The Apostle sits down and abides by this, after all that he had said, *So then*: It must be so, and there is no remedy.

And if what I have alledged out of this Chapter doth not prove what I undertook, I could pass to the next, where the

the first and second Verses of it make it clear that St. Paul spoke in his own person, and of himself. For how is it possible to make sense of these words which begin the Chapter, *There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus*, unless the foregoing words in the Chapter before, on which these necessarily depend are to be understood of a holy and righteous Man? Therefore is a term of *Inference* or *Deduction*; but how could it be gather'd from the preceding words and the greatest part of the Chapter that *there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus*, if that Chapter, and particularly the last words of it, did not refer to the state of the Regenerate, that is, *those that are in Christ*? And that [*now*] which the Apostles uses on this occasion, is to the same purpose: for when he saith, *Now there is no condemnation*, &c. his plain meaning is, that from the Premises which have been just now presented to view, it appears that Believers are not in a state of *Condemnation*, notwithstanding the remainders of Corruption and Sin in them. The Apostle draws this Comfortable Conclusion, from what he had said before that the indwelling Sin and Depravity of such a one as he had been speaking of did not hinder him from *being in Christ Jesus*; and it may be truly said of him

(maugr

(maugre his inbred corruption) that he walks not after the flesh, but after the spirit. That is, the Renewed Principle within him hath the Ascendent and Mastery over the other. The Spiritual part is more Predominant through the whole course of his life.

I hope I have said enough to convince any unprejudiced person that in this Chapter there is no *Prosopopæia*, no fiction of a Person, as some would make us believe, but that the Apostle speaks of himself, yet under a double capacity, namely, as he was tainted with that Original Defilement which hath seiz'd on all Mankind, and likewise as he was acted by a new New Principle (some Expressions importing one, and some the other.) He may seem to divide himself as it were into two persons: but this is only to set forth those Two contrary Principles in him, Flesh and Spirit, and the strife and combat of both. And so it is with every faithful Man and pious Christian, he is split into two, as it were, and hath in him a double Spring of action: the one is the fleshly and sensual Appetite, which is easily accounted for by the innate and inseparable Vitiosity of Humane Nature, as it was depraved by *Adam's* fall: the other is a Principle of Grace and Holiness, not born with us, but infused by the Holy Spirit,

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when it effectually operates upon us, so as to make us New Creatures. It is from the sense of the former of these that our Apostle makes his dolorous Complaints in this Chapter. This, this is the source of that *Carnality, and being sold under Sin, &c.* which he here owns himself to be subject to.

And all holy Men must own the like. From this degenerate Principle are those daily Examples of human weakness in the lives of the best of Men. The most wakeful are not always on their watch and guard, but sometimes (like the wise Virgins) are found slumbering. The most upright Walkers have their unhappy seasons of slipping and stepping aside. The most Fervent and Zealous have their cold fits. The strongest Champions are sometimes feeble and impotent. And it will never be otherwise as long as they are Men, that is, whilst they are made up here of Body and Soul, of Flesh and Spirit. As long as they are Mortal Creatures, and their Nature retains its primitive Infection, they will be obnoxious to Temptations and Vicious Impressions.

And, as it were on purpose to baffle the contrary fond Conceit, the Holy Spirit in Scripture scarcely ever mentions any Eminently Good Man and Saint of God, but it also takes notice of some failing in him,

him, and records the Mistakes of his Life and Manners in some considerable Point. Those that are modest and humble are fully apprehensive of this, they feel in themselves those defects and disorders, they bemoan their present state, that they can't serve and obey the Almighty in that degree they wish, and they are always finding fault with themselves, whilst the rest of the World are looking for faults in others. Of this the pious Psalmist, *holy David*, was an illustrious Example, as whoever reads him, can't but observe. And next to him our Great Apostle is to be mention'd, who not only in that Chapter which is before us, but in other places ingenuously and freely confesses his inbred Infirmary, and Propension to Vice, and his actual lapses and miscarriages which flowed thence.

So that it is to be wondred at that any considerate person should boggle at this, which is a Truth attested by the Experience of the most Righteous persons in all Ages. This is too well known and felt by the best, though some that reckon themselves in that number will not be sensible of it. And yet one, from whom I did not expect any such thing, was forced, it seems, to acknowledge it in part. * *The*

* Dr. Stanhope's Sermons, p. 361.

Conflict, saith he, which St. Paul seems to describe in the *Unregenerate person*, happens sometimes to be the infelicity of a very Good one, for the main. I was very glad to meet with this one Convert, whilst so many stand out against this perswasion, and (in imitation of the *Belgic and English Annotators*) are not ashamed to parallel this Struggle in a Good Man, exemplified by St. Paul in his own person, with *Medæa's Video meliora, &c.* and so ranking that Cursed Witch with the Blessed St. Paul.

But in the close of all let me add this, If there be any (and I have just ground to think that there are too many) that make an ill use of this Interpretation of St. Paul's words which I have established, I declare that I perfectly abhor and detest their doing so. If they are so presumptuous and hardy as to palliate and excuse their wilful Enormities and Habits of Vice by alledging the Infirmary of their Natures, and the Predominancy of the Flesh, I proclaim my utter Aversion from all such kind of Doctrine. It is impious to excuse or defend our sins this or any other way : for Vice will admit of no real Excuse. We ought to accuse and arraign our selves for every Failing of our Life - and whilst we lament and bewail them, we must be careful to make head against them.

them, and with all our force and vigour pursue the opposite Vertues and Duties. I leave therefore this *Caution* with all those that read the Apostle's words in this Chapter, and the Exposition I have given of them, that they would be careful not to draw undue Inferences from them, such as may in the least minister to Sin and Vice. Let none be so vain as to think that a Love of Sin and the continued Practise of it are consistent with the Regenerate State.

All that I contend for is this, that what the Apostle here saith, is not inconsistent with such a State, and (which fully proves it) that he all along speaks in his own Person, and gives no umbrage of any thing to the contrary. And, to conclude all, I will observe that he speaks altogether in the *Present Tense*, to let us know what his State was at that very time when he wrote this Chapter. That is, though he was a true Convert, and was renewed and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, yet he was not wholly freed from the pollutions of Vice, which stream'd from the Original Corruption of his Nature. And this would easily be acknowledg'd, and consequently the sense of the Apostle in this Chapter embraced, if Men were impartial, and would study and under-

stand themselves. They would readily assent to all that I have said, unless they were guilty of favouring themselves too much, and flattering Humane Nature, and dealing falsely with their own Consciences.

EXER.

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EXERCITATION VII.

What is meant by being
saved so as by fire.

R 1 COR. 3. 15.

*But he himself shall be saved,
yet so as by fire.*

THERE is a great Variety of Opinions about these words ; which I will briefly set before the Reader, with particular Remarks upon them.

I. Some think they can easily solve these words by making them a *Proverbial* form of speaking. *So as by fire*, say they, is as much as *with difficulty and hazard*. As when a Man's house is on fire, he perhaps may escape, yet with the loss of his Goods, and save himself, though not

without some scorching. This manner of speech was in common use, as appears from 4 *Amos* 11. where the rescued Jews are said to be *as a firebrand pluck'd out of the burning*. So in the same sense it is said, *Is not this a brand pluck'd out of the fire?* 3 *Zech.* 2. which is translated by the LXX in the very same words that the former place was by them rendred. And in the New Testament *ἐκ τοῦ πυρός ἀγνάζειν*, Jude 23. *to pluck out of the fire*, is to save with difficulty. The words before us are an allusion to this Proverbial and Common guise of speech, say *Grotius* and *Hammond*. And the latter particularly tells us that *he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire*, is as much as if the Apostle had said, *It shall go hard with him, as with one that is involv'd in a common fire, and hardly escapes out of it.*

But though this seem very plausible, and is supported by Authors of good Note, yet it hath no solid foundation to uphold it. For first, though 'tis true there is such a Common Proverbial way of speaking as is above-mention'd, yet these words have no reference at all to it, but plainly relate to something that had been said before in this Chapter, namely in the 13th Verse, *It shall be reveal'd by fire: and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is.* It is concerning this fire (which

7 If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the sinner & the ungodly appear? Pet.

I shall afterwards explain) that the Text is to be understood and interpreted. If there had been no mention of *fire* before, there might have been some pretence and excuse for such a Gloss as our *Annotator* and others put upon the words. But now when it appears that they are a plain Repetition of what the Apostle had said before, we can't entertain that plausible Notion which some have vented, that the words are an allusion to that Proverbial sort of speech. Secondly, This is easily confuted from the *Explication* which they give of the sense of these words, which they call Proverbial. This shews plainly that they are mistaken about the meaning of them. Dr. *Hammond* and some others who look upon them as a Proverbial Saying, to signifie an Escaping with great hazard and difficulty, assert that *to be saved by fire* is the same with *to be saved out of the fire*. But this is perverting of that way of Expression, for it is harsh and unsufferable to make *διὰ πυρός* by fire, the same with *ἐκ πυρός*, or *ἐκ τοῦ πυρός* out of or from the fire.

Dr. *Hammond*, to maintain his Notion, alledges 1 Pet. 3. 20. which speaks of the wonderful preservation of *Noah* and his Family in the Ark, in the time of the Universal Deluge; *few, that is, eight souls were saved by water*, and he would persuade

swade us that σωζέσθαι διὰ πυρός, to be saved by fire is the same with διασωζέσθαι δι' ὑδάτος, to be saved by water, that is, to be saved or delivered out of it. But this Learned Man will have no credit of this Allegation, because it serves not his purpose, unless he can prove (which will be too hard for him) that δι' ὑδάτος is equivalent with ἐκ ὑδάτος. Therefore he is here abandon'd by Grotius, who more probably interprets δι' ὑδάτος thus, *in the midst of the waters*, or *whilest they were on the waters*. But the most easie and genuine interpretation is that of Erasmus, that eight persons were saved by water, that is, by the Water bearing up the Ark. That water which destroyed the rest of the World, was the instrument of saving those persons by its lifting up the Ark, and carrying it safe from danger. So that it is manifest hence that the phrase διὰ πυρός is not parallel with δι' ὑδάτος, which yet that above-named Writer would suggest. And hence likewise we see what little reason there was to make these words, *he shall be saved, yet so as by fire*, to be an allusion to the Proverbial speech of *saving out of the fire*: for to save out of the fire and by the fire are not the same Expressions.

And

And from the whole I conclude, that though 'tis not to be denied that *ex incendio effugere* and *evadere* be a Proverbial form in *Tully* and some other Authours, yet this is nothing of kin to the manner of speaking here. To make it so, it should be *ἐκ πυρὸς* here, not *διὰ πυρὸς*. And as for those places of Scripture above cited, there is no need of a particular Answer to them, for they being adapted to that phrase and mode of speech in common use, it is clear thence that they affect not the present Cause, and have not the least affinity with the terms here used by the Apostle, *Saved, yet so as by fire*.

II. There is a strange interpretation of these words given by *Athanasius*, which I will barely mention, but I believe there will be but few Profelytes to it. The whole Verse he expounds thus, “ * If any mans works be burnt, he shall suffer loss, i. e. (saith he) the loss of the kingdom of heaven: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire, i. e. he shall remain entire and whole in the fire, and shall not see death. He shall be ever in the fire, and shall not be burnt up and destroyed. He shall suffer eternally in hell-flames, and shall never perish or be dissolved. So he.

† Dict. & Interpret. S. Scriptura.

But

But here are many things harsh and unheard of, for the word *σωζέσθαι* is never taken in a sense that is applicable to Damnation. This pretence of the promiscuous use of the word confounds the Notions of being *saved* and being *damn'd*, which are different and contrary Idea's. Again, *fire* (as I shall shew afterwards) is not to be understood here of the *fire of Hell*. Besides, the *saving* here spoken of is not *by fire*, but *as by fire*, and therefore it can't be applied concerning real fire. Lastly, From the whole *Scope* and *Series* of the Chapter, which I shall lay before the Reader afterwards, it will appear that this Notion of *saving* and of *fire* must not be admitted.

III. The Writers of the *Roman* Communion do generally alledge this place for *Purgatory*, and tell us that those who go thither are *saved so as by fire*. In answer to which I say, first, the famous Bishop of *Hippo*, whom they quote for founding of the *Purgatory* fire on these words, confess'd that it is a Difficult and Obscure Text, and therefore, according to this acknowledgment, the Doctrine of *Purgatory* can't be built with any certainty on these words. Secondly, This passage of being *saved by fire* is meant of *the fire that shall try every man's work*, v. 13. and there-fore

fore can't be understood of Purgatory, for Good Works are not (according to the Concession of the *Roman Church*) tried by this fire , nor shall every man's works be tried by it, for the *Pontificians* themselves do not hold that *every man* must take a trip to Purgatory : they grant most freely that some pass immediately to the fruition of Heaven.

Further, I say, Purgatory can't be meant, because, according to these Men, even some of those that build *gold, silver, precious stone* go through this fire : and consequently there is no reason to have it particularly attributed to the other *builders*. And then, this is to be added, that it is not said *absolutely* that any shall be *saved by fire*, but the words are in way of Comparison or Similitude, *ὡς διὰ πυρός, as by fire*. Nay, there are two words to expresse this, *ἐὼς ὡς, so as* : whence it is rationally to be gathered that these words are not spoken of a Real fire, and consequently not that of Purgatory, unless the Church of *Rome* will own it to be an Imaginary and Fictitious Fire, and then they overthrow their own Doctrine.

IV. Our Great English *Rabin* refers these words (as he doth many others which seem to have as little reference as these)

these) to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Roman* Armies, and the † saving or rescuing of many of the believing Jews at that time. But this seems to be very foreign to the place, and not agreeable to the Apostle's matter which he treats of in this part of the Chapter, for he is speaking (as I shall evidence afterwards) of what shall befall those that build upon the Foundation of Erroneous and Unsound Doctrines. This is the Subject he is upon, and therefore it can't be meant of the dreadful desolation of the Jewish People by *Titus*, and of the saving and delivering of some out of it. Again, from what was remark'd before concerning the expression *διὰ πυρός*, it is manifest that the fire of Divine Vengeance to be poured out upon the Jewish Nation is not to be understood here, for those few that were delivered from it, were not saved by that fire, but saved out of it, which is not the import of the phrase in this place. It may be truly thought then that this odd Interpretation is wholly to be attributed to that Learned Man's darling Notion, which tinctures his thoughts in several other places as well as here, and makes him surmise that these words relate to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, tho' they have no cognation with it.

† Lightfoot. Hor. Hebraic.

V. Others understand them more largely and generally, that is, of Tribulation and Persecution. Sir N. Knatchbull takes this way: *He himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire, that is,* saith he, *so as he shall pass through the fire of Persecution with constancy to the faith.* And there is Antiquity to be pleaded for this Interpretation, for by Fire St. Augustine understands here Temporal Affliction. And 'tis not to be denied that the word is sometimes so used in Scripture, and it is call'd a fiery trial by St. Peter, 1 Epist. 4 chap. 12 v. which makes this Interpretation seem very probable.

But yet, if we weigh the Context, and compare this being *saved by fire* with the *fire which shall try every mans work*, which the Abettors of this Interpretation acknowledge that this relates to, we shall not find reason to think that the fire of Persecution is here meant. For when we remember that the Apostle saith, *every mans work must be tried by fire*, we may at the same time gather that the *being saved by fire* can't be understood of Persecution, because this is not every man's lot. There are some that never undergo this fiery trial, who have built hay and stubble on the foundation. There hath not been a Day of Tribulation to discover what their

Doctrines

Doctrines are: and therefore I conceive that this Exposition of the words is too narrow.

VI. Some are of opinion that *saved so as by fire* refers to the *Last Conflagration* 2 Pet. 3. 10. *The earth and the works that are therein shall be burnt up.* But this final Conflagration of the World hath nothing to do with *these works* which we are speaking of, for it shall not happen till the *Judgment* be over, and none but the damned shall feel the effects of it, and for that reason *the fire which tries every man's work* is not a description of the last Firing of all things, for all do not pass through it. Millions of Men shall be destroyed but none *saved by that fire.* Or, if you mean it of the Day of Judgment, when (as it is said) *the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God,* you can't properly apply the *saving so as by fire* to that time. The bare laying of the words before us, and applying them to this matter is sufficient to give us an apprehension of this; *If any man's work shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire.* That is according to these Mens interpretation, If any Man's works shall perish in those dreadful Flames at the Conclusion of the World

World, he shall be greatly endamaged : but he himself shall escape by the fire of that day ; though his *works* be burnt, yet that fire shall not burn him. Which is a plain mis-representation of the procedure of the Last day, for then all Men shall be judg'd according to their works ; as their works are, so shall they fare themselves : and consequently none can be said to be *saved by the same fire* that *burns up their works*. Besides, I have observ'd before, that the words are not absolute, but comparative, 'tis not said *he shall be saved by fire*, but *so as by fire*, which denotes the *Likeness* of the thing only, and consequently that real and proper *Fire* of the Last day is not here meant.

Having shew'd the invalidity of this and the foregoing Expositions, I will now offer one that in my apprehension seems to be unquestionable, and that for these two Reasons, because it is adapted to the Scope and Design of the Apostle in this Chapter, and because it is easie and natural, and lyes fair in the words without any straining of them. And that I may fairly represent it to you, and you may have a full View of it, I will briefly expound all that part of the Chapter which hath any relation to these words which are now under consideration. For I take this to be the best way to let us into the

knowledge of them. We must know then that the Apostle begins in the 10th Verse to direct himself to the Teachers and Pastors of the Church, not only those that were to succeed him at *Corinth*, but all of that Sacred Function in future Generations: and this is the Grand thing that he urges there and afterwards, that they would take heed to their Doctrine, that they would be very mindful to preach those things which are conformable to the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, and that they would be very careful not to mix with it any unsound and erroneous Doctrines.

This is the General Sum: now take the particular detail of it. *According to the grace of God, saith he, which is given unto me, as a wise Master-builder, I have laid the foundation, v. 10.* that is, the foundation of those Truths which the Gospel furnishes us with. I have taught what are the Fundamentals of Christianity; and *another buildeth thereon*, that is, succeeding Ministers ought to take their measures according to this, and to take farther care to instruct and edifie their Flocks. *But let every Man take heed how he buildeth thereupon*, which is as much as to say, It is the great Concern of all the Pastors of the Church to take care what Doctrines they deliver. *For other founda-*

tion can no man lay then that is laid, which is *Jesus Christ*, v. 11. The foundation which I mention'd before is no other than the Doctrine of Salvation by *Jesus Christ* alone. Now if any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, (and together with these) wood, hay, stubble, every mans work shall be made manifest, v. 12, 13. that is, if the Spiritual Guides and Instructors of the Church preach solid and sound Doctrine (for that is meant by gold and silver and precious stones) so that the Superstructure is agreeable to the Foundation; or, if on the other hand, they preach such Doctrines as are light and vain, and of no worth, but yet do not wholly pervert the Foundation and Substance of Christianity (for these he understands by hay, and wood, and stubble) I must tell you there will be a time when there shall be a Difference made between these two kinds of Preaching. The Event will shew and manifest which of these Materials before-mention'd are firm and durable, and which not; which will endure the fire, and which not. For as it happens in a *Building* (to which he had compared the Preaching of the Gospel, and accordingly had stiled himself a *Master-builder*) the firm and substantial parts of it (which are as solid as gold and silver) are not destroyed by fire, but those other

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parts

parts of the Fabrick which are not solid, (and therefore are rightly compared to *hay* and *stubble*.) Soon perish, and are consumed by the flames: So it is here in respect of Sound or Unsound, True or False Doctrines, though they be blended together by unskilful Teachers, there is a *Fire* that will make a difference between them, and discover which is *gold*, and which is *stubble*.

And now the Apostle proceeds to shew particularly how this Discovery shall be made, *For the day shall declare it*, saith he, *because it shall be revealed by fire: and the fire shall try every mans work, of what sort it is*, v. 13. By *day*, I conceive, is meant *the light*, and what more natural and obvious meaning can there be of that term? for as our Apostle saith elsewhere, *Whatsoever doth make manifest, is Light*. It is the *day*, as gilded with *Light*, which gives us a clear and distinct sight of things (those which the gloomy *Night* had hid from us) and accordingly the Apostle uses the word here to signifie a *Clear Inspection* of the thing, upon due *Examination*. Wherefore when he saith, *the day shall declare it*, the plain sense is no other than this, that the difference between *Corrupt* and *Sound Doctrine* may, and shall be easily discovered by bringing them to the *Light*, and by placing them

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in a true and exact View, and by examining and trying them according to that. And this *Light* is without doubt the light of Mens Consciences, *the Candle of the Lord* (as 'tis call'd by the Wise-man) set up in their Breasts; but especially the Light and Splendor of the Word of God, which is the surest Test of all Opinions and Doctrines.

And as every Man's *work* (for so St. Paul is pleas'd to express Mens *Doctrines* and *Preachings*, because they are so in the latitude of that word) shall be *declared by the day*, so in terms of the like significati- on he adds, that *it shall be revealed by fire*, for I question not but these two expressions are equivalent. The very same Property, namely *declaring* or *revealing* is ascribed to *light* and *fire* here, which plainly dictates to us their Identity. And indeed the promiscuous use of these words $\phi\omega\varsigma$ & $\pi\upsilon\rho$ is not unusual, and that even in the Inspired Writings. *He warmed himself* $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\tau\delta\phi\omega\varsigma$, 14 Mark 54. where by the word $\phi\omega\varsigma$ is meant *fire*. And so in 22 Luke 56. *As he sat* $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\tau\delta\phi\omega\varsigma$, which is rightly rendred *by the fire*, or *at the fire*. And Dr. Hammond well guesses at the reason why $\phi\omega\varsigma$ is thus used, namely, in imitation of the *Hebrews*, who by אור understand both *fire* and *light*. And on the other side, by the word $\pi\upsilon\rho$ we are to understand,

derstand light, as in 4 Rev. 5. λαμπάδες
 πρὸς, *lamps of light*. Πρὸς φλογός, 2 Theff.
 1. 8. and πρὸς φλόξ, 1 Heb. 7. (which
 latter is often used in the *Revelation*) are
 somewhat of this sort.

But moreover, as *Fire* hath the proper-
 ty of *Light*, and accordingly of discover-
 ing and revealing, so it is acknowledg'd
 to have the quality and power of *search-
 ing* and *trying*. Conformably to which it
 is said here, *The fire shall try every man's
 work, of what sort it is*. It will try whe-
 ther it be solid and durable, or whether
 it be slight and combustible. This *Ex-
 amination*, which the Apostle here com-
 pares to *fire*, will effect this, for when
Doctrines are brought to the *Test*, and
 strictly *examined* by the unerring Stan-
 dard of Truth, the nature of them will
 clearly appear.

And what is the Consequence of this?
 The Apostle tells us in the next words,
*If any mans work abide which he hath built
 thereupon, he shall receive a reward*, v. 14.
 That is, if his Doctrine prove sound and
 good, as those best sort of Materials be-
 fore named (for this is meant by *abiding*)
 then he shall be honour'd and recompen-
 sed by God for the faithful discharge of
 his Ministry. But on the contrary, *if any
 mans work shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss*,
 v. 15. that is, if any Teacher's Doctrine
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be found to be vain and unprofitable (for which reason 'tis resembled to *hay and stubble*, which are easily burnt) he shall lose his labour, and be deprived of the Reward which the other had, and which he himself expected for what he did.

But though this be his portion, though his work be lost, yet *himself shall be saved*, yet so as by fire, namely, by that fire which was before mentioned. For what should this refer to but that? And so you see the Apostle's Discourse is all of a piece, and a kind of Allegory is carried on by him. He tells us that the erecting of the Church by the preaching of the Gospel is a *building*, and he had the honour to be a *Chief Builder*, and other Pastors and Ministers are *builders*, though of a lower rank. He was altogether employ'd in laying the *foundation* of this Spiritual Structure: but others are to go on with it, and to finish the *Superstructure*. Wholesome Doctrines are the *gold, silver, and precious stones* belonging to this Edifice: and unsound Doctrines are the *wood, hay, and stubble* that are used by some in the rearing of this Fabrick. Now, every Minister of the Gospel is to take heed how he builds: and to make such persons the more careful and heedful, the Apostle acquaints them that their work shall be narrowly survey'd, look'd into, and examin-

ed, and a strict Account shall be taken of it.

This *Examination* is fitly called *the day*, because it brings to light the Vanity and Folly of those Teachers that fill Men's heads with unprofitable Doctrines. And it is as fitly stiled *fire*, because it *tries* them, for as Fire separates the silver from the dross, so This will discern between the Doctrines that are of worth and value, and those that are of a contrary nature. And what will be the event of this *Trial*, the Apostle Acquaints us; some, notwithstanding their mistaken Doctrines and Notions, which they build upon the Foundation, shall escape, yet so as by help of this *fiery Trial*, this strict *Enquiry* and *Examination*. I have mention'd. If upon this, their Consciences do not accuse them to have been wilful in their mistakes, they shall find mercy with God. If after the fiery trial it appears that they have acted sincerely and uprightly, and according to the knowledge and light they were furnished with, their lesser Errors and Misprisions shall be forgiven them.

This then is the thing which the Apostle suggests in this place to all the Ministers of the Gospel, that they ought faithfully to keep to the great Fundamentals of Christianity, in their preaching to the People,

People, and not to build hay and stubble on the foundation : for if they do this latter, they must answer for it when their own Judgments and Consciences, enlightned and assisted by the Word of God, (the best Touch-stone of Truth) shall call them to account. Then they will be enquiring on what Principles they went, how their Hearts were affected, what inward designs and intentions they had. And if these be found faulty, not only their Doctrines shall be condemned, but they themselves shall be consigned to Punishment by the verdict of their own Consciences. But, if it be found that their Principles, Designs and Affections were upright, though they err'd in some Points out of ignorance and weakness, and inconsideration, they shall be acquitted by their Consciences, by virtue of the strict Trial and Exploration of their Hearts and Intentions. This is significantly call'd a saving *so as by fire*, that very *fire* which the Apostle had laid *every mans work shall be tried by*: that is, it shall undergo a narrow *Scrutiny*, and if *Sincerity* be found at the bottom, they shall be discharg'd and acquitted.

Besides, I do not exclude a secondary sense of the word, for every one that is acquainted with the Stile of Scripture, knows that *fire* is used to set forth the

Judg-

Judgments of God. Thus we read of the *spirit of burning*, 4 *Isai.* 4. *By fire will the Lord plead with all flesh*, 66 *Isai.* 16. There is the *fire of God's jealousy*, 36 *Ezek.* 5. and the *Lord God's contending by fire*, 7 *Amos* 4. So that it is plain that by *fire* are meant the severe dealings and vengeance of God. And this may be a super-added sense here, as well as in those former verses, *It shall be revealed by fire*: and *the fire shall try every mans work*. That is, they shall not only undergo a severe Examination from themselves, but from the Almighty. Those that have been so misled and seduced as to propagate vain and erroneous Opinions, may be *saved*, yet *so as by fire*: that is, a strict Judgment from God must pass upon them first, which shall open their eyes, and convince them of their folly and mistake, and upon hearty Repentance they shall be accepted of God. This is the Method that the All-wise Being is pleas'd to take sometimes, he brings Men to a sight of their Erroneous Propositions, and a hearty Remorse for them, and effectually moves them to retract and renounce them, by that *fire Ordeal*, that just Judgment which he causes them to pass through. And by this Fiery Trial they are sometimes as plainly discern'd to have been Sincere Persons, and void of all Perverseness of Temper (amidst their
undue

undue Opinions) as precious Metals are discovered by the fire to be different from dross.

Thus the sense of the Apostle, with respect to both these Notions which I have propounded, is plain, easie and genuine, and it is no other than this, that if any of those whose Office it is to preach the Gospel, mix unwarrantable Doctrines with it, and presume to build hay and stubble on the Foundation, they may expect that their Structure will fall down; but it will not be their Ruine, if after an impartial scanning of themselves and their Intentions, and after God's awakening them by his Severe Hand, their Consciences bear witness to their Sincerity.

Two things especially have prevail'd with me to offer this sense of the words; first, because it is reasonable and fair to understand the Preposition *διὰ* as it usually is taken in other places, when it is joyned with a Genitive Case, namely to denote the *Instrumental Cause*, or at least the *Way and Manner* of doing a thing, as 4 *Matth.* 4. | 7. 13. | 8. 17, 28. | 12. 41. 1 *Rom.* 5. | 2. 23. | 3. 20. Wherefore I inferr'd hence that *διὰ πυρός* should be understood in this sense, and *to be saved so as by fire* should signifie the manner of Saving. And here (to confirm this Exposition)

tion) I will present the Reader with a plain and positive Instance of this particular way of speaking in the New Testament. This very form of speech *διὰ πυρὸς*, by or with fire, occurs in 1 Pet. i. 7. *That the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, &c.* where any one may see that *διὰ πυρὸς δοκιμάζεται* is an expression of the like nature with *διὰ πυρὸς σώζεται*: especially this will be granted, when we remember that *δοκιμάζω* is the very word applied by our Apostle to this fire, v. 13.

Secondly, Another thing that was very weighty with me, was this, that *fire* is to be taken here as it was before in the former words. For 'tis the most adviseable way, and practis'd by the best Expositors (unless there be a very urgent reason for the contrary) to interpret words and phrases in any Text in the same sense and meaning that we find them used by the Inspired Writer in the same Verse, or in the neighbouring words. Wherefore when we read this passage, *he shall be saved, yet so as by fire*, it is reasonable to interpret this *fire* by *fire* before spoken of, Especially, there being no Reason to be alledg'd on the contrary, and no Incongruity in the thing, we ought to refer it to the same *fire* which the Apostle had twice mentioned before.

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I will shut up all with a seasonable *Caution* from the whole. We that are profess'd Ministers of the Gospel had need to take heed what Doctrines and Tenents we espouse, and what Notices we impart to the People, for there is a *Fiery Trial* to pass upon us. As we shall receive a *Reward* for preaching solid and sound Truths, so we shall suffer loss if we mingle Vanity and Falshood with these. If we ever be saved, it must be so as by fire, that is, by a strict *Examining* of our hearts, and pleading our Sincere Intentions, or by God's severe Trying of us.

EXERCITATION VIII.

The Great Branches of
the Mystery of Godli-
ness.

I TIM. 3. 16.

*And without controversie great
is the Mystery of Godliness;
God was manifest in the flesh,
justified in the spirit, seen of
Angels, preached unto the
Gentiles, believed on in the
world, received up into glory.*

THE Socinian Writers are Men that
pretend much to *Criticism*, and
some of them have shew'd that they have
no

no contemptible Talent that way. Only it is to be lamented that they *abuse* it; as particularly they do in descanting on these words, for here taking upon them to be *Critics*, they expunge the word *θεός*, and read *ὁ* instead of it, and then apply what follows (namely, *was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, &c.*) to the *Mystery of Godliness*, thus, *Great is the Mystery of Godliness, which was manifest in the flesh, justified, &c.*

It is true, some of these Writers seem to vary a little from this, but hold to the same sense. So the Authour of the *Racovian * Catechism* interprets it concerning the *Will of God the Father*. And so † one of the late Anonymous Socinian Penmen, though he is pleas'd to permit us to read it *God*, not *which*, yet interprets it of the Nature or Will of God: but is miserably put to his shifts to make it out. *Crellius* attempts to apply it to *God the Father himself*, but most absurdly strains the words for that purpose. And afterwards he tries how he can apply *ὁ* to the *Mystery of Godliness*, but he most shamefully blunders in that undertaking also.

* *De Personâ Christi*. Cap. 1.
 mination of the Principal Texts for Christ's Divinity.
 Chap. 1.

† An accurate Exa-

That the word *Seos* was added by *Nestorius*, was the groundless and ridiculous Conceit of *Hincmar*, but quoted and urged by a very * Great Man. But we know which way he was enclined towards his latter end, unless we shall rather say that the *Annotations* which go under his name on the *Epistles*, especially that part of them which any ways concerns the *Trinity*, were not the genuine off-spring of that Excellent Writer, and therefore are no proof of his inclination and judgment. Whosoever the Authour was, he reads it *ὁ ἐπὶ νεφέλῃ*, and interprets it, and what follows concerning the Mystery of the Gospel. It is true, a Myste-
 rious Doctrine may be said to be *manifested*, but it is incongruous to say, it was manifest *in the flesh*, that is, it was *incarnate*. And there is as great Incongruity in saying, the Doctrine was *seen of Angels*, and *received up into glory*. But he exercises his Invention, and finds out new and strange ways of expounding; rather than he will recede from that pretence which he hath of the *Latin*, *Syriac* and *Arabic* Versions, which read it *which*, or rather than he will quit a Notion which is in danger to be struck at by the other Reading.

* Grotius in loc.

I will take this Clause of the Text as it is in the *Greek Copies*, in which language the Epistle was originally writ, and therefore we ought to have recourse to them, and to be determin'd by them. Now, all of these of any note have it *Deus*. St. *Chrysostom* reads it so, as appears from what he saith on the place. So did *Cyrl* and *Theodoret*, and all the Ancient Greek Fathers and Interpreters. The Judicious and Accurate Bishop * *Pearson* hath substantially confuted the other Reading, and exposed the absurdity of it. And lately † another Learned and most Accomplished Prelate hath fully satisfied the world that *God* was in the Original Text, and hath amply answered the Objections against it. In short, whosoever hath read what He hath suggested on this Subject, will find that he hath reason to believe that this was the Ancient and Primitive Reading, and therefore is Authentic and Unquestionable. Accordingly I take this part of the Text as it is in our Translation, *God was manifest in the flesh*. Which is the same with *the Words being made flesh*, 1 John 14. and with *his coming in the flesh*, 2 John 7. and with 8 *Rom. 3. God sent forth his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh*.

And this is not denied by some of the

* On Article the second of the Creed. † Bishop of Worcester's Vindicat. of the Doctrine of the Trinity. Chap. 8.

Unitarians after all their cavelling at the Copies: but they say it can't be proved from this place that Christ is truly God. He is indeed stiled *God*, but the reason is because he was conceived in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary* by a Divine Power. But any unprejudiced person cannot but see that this is very flat and dull, especially as it is here applied, for these words *God was manifest*, &c. suppose *Christ* to have been *God* before his Conception and Incarnation. For when 'tis said, *God was manifest in the flesh*, it is thence evident and undeniable that the Person of whom this is spoken was *God*, before he was so *manifested*. According to *Socinus's* Followers it should have been said thus of Christ, He was made *God* by being manifested in the flesh: But now, it being in expresse terms asserted here that *God was manifest in the flesh*, this is undeniably included in it, that Christ was first *God*, and then afterwards *Incarnate*, which ruins the *Socinian* Notion.

And besides, if strictly and properly speaking he was no more than a *Man* (as all *Socinians* hold) the Apostle certainly would not have reckoned his Manifestation in the *Flesh* as a *Mystery*, for it is no *Mystery* at all that a man is manifest in the flesh, for this is the plain and intelligible property of a *Man* to be clothed with

with flesh. But St. Paul undertaking to assign some of the *Mysteries* of the Christian Faith, deservedly mention'd the Incarnation of the Son of God in the front of all, this of all Secrets in our Religion being the highest: therefore it is justly call'd a *Mystery*. But if Christ had not been truly and really God, it had been *No Mystery* at all. So that we cannot desire a plainer confutation of that silly and impertinent Evasion of the *Socinians*, than what the words themselves furnish us with.

The second Branch of the *Mystery* of *Godliness* is this, *He was justified in the spirit*. Which *Grotius*, in favour of the *Socinian* interpretation, applies to the Gospel, and saith the meaning is, that the Gospel was approved of by *Miracles*, for *τις μαρτυρία* is Divine Miracles. But most Expositors apply this to the Messiah, who was manifest in the flesh, and approved of by the Spirit, that is, by Miracles wrought by the Spirit. When his Enemies reproached him and vilified him, these Great and Wonderful things which he did, *justified* and clear'd him: for hereby it was demonstrated that he came from God, and that the Doctrine and Laws which he delivered were Divine. By real and solid Miracles (not such as the Counterfeit Sleights and Legerdemain of Impostors) he establish'd and confirm'd

firm'd a Religion which was solid and substantial. Thus he was *justified by the Spirit*, to wit, by that power of working Miracles which was by the Spirit of God, as we expressly read in 12 *Matth. 28.* where Christ appeals to This, as a thing that he knew would acquit him, namely, *his casting out of devils*, and doing other extraordinary things, *by the spirit of God.* And therefore the obstinate and malicious denying of these Miraculous Acts were from the Spirit, is call'd *the Sin or Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.*

All this is very true, and Christ may be said to be *justified by the Spirit* in this sense. But yet I conceive this is not the meaning of the words here. For first, seeing the word *Spirit* is capable of other significations, and that very frequently, both in the Old and New Testament, we have no reason to confine the word to this acception, especially when a more obvious and genuine one may be offer'd, which I shall propound anon. Secondly, Though *the Spirit* sometimes (and not so often as some have thought) signifies the Miraculous Operations of the third Person in the Trinity, yet we have nowhere such an expression as this, *to be justified by those Operations of the Spirit.* Thirdly, It is probable that the Third Person in that Sacred *Triad* is not here meant,

meant, because the word *πνεῦμα* is put here simply and barely without an *Article*. Fourthly, The Preposition *ἐν* which is here used, doth no ways favour the foresaid Exposition, for *ἐν πνεύματι* is not the same with *διὰ πνεύματος*, as some have thought.

And lastly, we may observe that though this is the Preposition which is used in some of the other parts of the Text, yet it is in none of them to be expounded in this manner: and therefore it is not likely that it hath that force here. It is said that God was manifest *ἐν σαρκί*, in, not by, the flesh: preach'd *ἐν ἔθνεσιν* among the Gentiles: believed on *ἐν κόσμῳ*, in the world, or through the whole world: received up *ἐν δόξῃ*, in or with glory. Which constant way of speaking shews us how we are to interpret this passage, he was justified *ἐν πνεύματι*, in spirit. These are the Reasons which induce me to reject the ordinary Exposition.

And now I pass to that which I design'd to offer to the Readers consideration. The singular number is here put for the plural (as it is in five hundred places in Scripture) *πνεῦμα* for *πνεύματα*, spirit for spirits: and every one that is acquainted with the Sacred Stile knows that this word spirit (to which the Hebrew *ruach* answers) is frequently used to signifie the

mind of Man, the understanding will and affections, the hearts and consciences of Men. Thus, according to Solomon, the *spirit of man* is his mind, 20 *Prov.* 27. And hence you read of a *contrite spirit*, 34 *Psal.* 18. 66 *Isai.* 2. and a *right spirit*, 51 *Psal.* 10. A *wounded spirit* is a wounded Conscience, 18 *Prov.* 14. So in the New Testament, the *spirit of man* which is in him, 1 *Cor.* 2. 11. is the Mind and Conscience of Man. It is said that the *Spirit* witnesseth with our spirit, i. e. with our enlightned Conscience, 8 *Rom.* 16. I serve God, saith the Apostle, 1 *Rom.* 9. ἐν τῷ πνεύματι μου, *in* (or as we render it, with) *my spirit*, that is, with my heart and affections. This also you will find to be the import of the word in these following places, 1 *Luke* 47. 11 *John* 33. 19 *Acts* 21. 4 *Eph.* 23. 1 *Thess.* 5. 23. 4 *Heb.* 12. and several other Texts.

And this I take to be the meaning of the word in the Clause under our present consideration. When the Apostle tells us that Christ was *justified in the spirit*, the plain sense is, that he was approved of in the hearts and affections of men. Though he appeared with great disadvantage in the world, that is, in a low and mean condition, and for that reason was despised and disregarded, and (as the consequence of that) was affronted, reproach-

ed and cavil'd at, yet he was *clear'd and justified in the minds and consciences of the Faithful*. There were great numbers of Persons, and many of them of very considerable rank in the World (as the Evangelical Records acquaint us) who highly esteemed and valued our Lord, and honoured him with a just praise (in which sense the word *justifying* is taken in 7 Luke 29.) they were at several times, and on sundry occasions, stirr'd up to shew their *Inward Approbation* of him, and his life and actions; and especially when these were spoken against and mis-represented by the Adversaries of the Christian Religion. They manfully stood up, and defended the Cause of Christ, and answer'd the Objections raised against it. This was properly *justifying* or clearing him; and so that of our Saviour was verified, *Wisdom is justified of her children*, 11 Mat. 19. And because this *Justifying* proceeded from their hearts and inmost persuasions, therefore it is truly said that it was done *ἐν πνεύματι*, *in spirit*.

Nay, we are ascertain'd that our blessed Master was thus *justified*, not only by the Faithful, but even by the professed Enemies of Christianity, and by such as were Strangers to the Christian Faith. Some of these were heard to say, *Never man spake like this man*, 7 John 46. And

at another time the Multitude cried, *he hath done all things well*, 7 Mark 37. And other Instances might be produced of the same sort, whence it is evident that Men own'd and approv'd of our Saviour, from those Inward Convictions which they had, from the free dictates of their Consciences, or from their *Spirits*, which is the language of the Apostle here.

And this *justifying* which I'm speaking of refers to Christ's being judg'd and arraign'd: for even then he was declared guiltless and innocent. The Judge himself wash'd his hands, and his nearest Relative, being extraordinarily admonished in a Dream, pronounced him a *Just Person*. One of the Malefactors that suffer'd at the same time with him, acquitted him, *This man hath done nothing amiss*, 23 Luke 41. The *Roman Centurion*, who by vertue of his Office, attended on his Execution, vouch'd him to be *the Son of God*; and even *Judas* confess'd his blood to be *innocent*. Thus it appears that *Wisdom* was *justified* not only of her *Children*, but of Strangers and Enemies. These, as well as the other, were perswaded in *their very spirits*, their hearts and consciences, that Jesus was a holy and righteous Person, and thence it was that their mouths openly professed the same.

This is the Interpretation which I offer to the Judicious, and it is fairly suggested from the *Opposition* which is in these two Clauses, *God was manifest in the flesh, and he was justified in the spirit.* Where we may observe that *the flesh* is opposed to or distinguished from *the spirit* : and if we follow this Observation, we shall be induced to embrace the foresaid Exposition as natural and genuine. For it is as much as if the Apostle had said, God was manifest *in the flesh*, outwardly ; and justified *in the spirit*, inwardly, that is, in the spirits and hearts of Men. Which acceptance of *ἐν πνεύματι*, *in the spirit*, is confirm'd by parallel places, as 5 Mat. 3. *Blessed are the poor in spirit*, that is, those that are inwardly poor, i. e. humble and lowly in their minds, in contradistinction to those that are bodily and outwardly poor. So in 1 Cor. 6. 20. *Glorified God in your spirit*, *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι* (the Singular for the Plural, as in the place before us) which is distinguished there from *ἐν τῷ σώματι*, *in your body*. Thus in 1 Cor. 7. 34. to be *holy in spirit*, is to be Inwardly holy, and is differenced from being *holy in body*, in the same place.

Thus these passages of the same Apostle do wonderfully clear the Text, and set it in a true and exact light : so that we may conclude that this *Justification in the*

the spirit is that Inward Testimony and Approbation which the Messias met with in the hearts of Men. And this may well be call'd a *Mystery*, because it is so Extraordinary a thing, and above all humane Thoughts and Expectations. To bring even professed Enemies to an Acknowledgment of Jesus, and a justification of his righteous Cause, is Wonderful and Amazing. That he should be thus Attested and Justified in the spirits of Men, may deservedly be reckoned as a *Mysterious* thing.

He was seen of Angels, is another considerable part of the Christian Doctrine. For those Glorious Spirits above are concern'd in what is transacted here below, especially in so great and glorious a work as the Redemption of Mankind by Christ Jesus, God manifested in the flesh. Now unto the Principalities, and Powers in heavenly places (i.e. to the Angels) is known the manifold wisdom of God, as the Apostle speaks, 3 Eph. 10. Now it is known, and not before: now they desire to look into this Mystery, as another Apostle saith, 1 Pet. 1. 12. They are ambitious to pry into it, and acquaint themselves with it, it being a Mystery which they were strangers to before. When therefore it is said, He was seen of those Heavenly Messengers, the meaning is that they had a clear know-

knowledge of him, for this is the frequent acception of the word *seeing* in the New Testament (as well as in the Old) as we may satisfie our selves from 3 *John* 11. and 8. 38. and many other places. Those Blessed Spirits *saw* our Saviour, that is, they discern'd and discovered that in Him and his Doctrine which they had no knowledge of in former Ages.

But there is something more contain'd in these words, for *he was seen* is according to the Stile of Scripture (which is very large and extensive) as much as *he was attested and acknowledg'd* by the Heavenly Host, by those Divine Witnesses and Messengers. They testified concerning Christ's Conception in that their joyfull Annuntiation to the Blessed Virgin, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee,* 1 *Luke* 35. They were Witnesses and Heraulds of Christ's Nativity, and proclaimed the welcome Tidings of it to the World, 2 *Luke* 11. *Unto you is born this day in the City of David a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord.* And we must know that this was done with a great design of Wisdom, for whereas Christ was born in a mean place, and laid in a Manger, and reared after a homely and poor manner, and so was rendred Obscure and Despicable; that it might appear to the World that this
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his Humiliation was voluntary, and of his own choosing, and that whilst he lay an Infant wrapped in Swaddling-clothes, he was really the Son of God and the Lord from Heaven: that this might be evidenced to Mankind, he mixed Majesty with Humility, and though the Earth be senseless and silent, yet *Heaven* rejoyces at his Nativity, and the glorious *Angels* demonstrate his transcendent Dignity.

And I must tell you, he that understands aright the distinct Orders and Ranks of Beings in the World, must needs confess that these Heavenly Triumphs and Exultations of these Great Minions and Favourites of Heaven do more commend and magnifie the Birth of Christ Jesus, then all the Pompous Shews the most Exquisite Ceremonies, Splendor and Magnificence can possibly adorn or honour the Births of the greatest Princes in the World. When the Glorious Spirits in Heaven become Harbingers and Herald on Earth, there is Royal State indeed: and such is this at the arrival of the Blessed Redeemer of the World, when this Glorious Hierarchy of Heaven fall down and adore the Lamb of God, *The Holy Babe Jesus: for* (as the Apostle speaks) *when he bringeth the first-begotten into the world, he saith, Let all the Angels*

of God worship him, 1 Heb. 6. And as the first tidings and news of his Appearing on Earth were brought (and at the same time sung) by the Heavenly Quire , so afterwards we find, that through all his Life they were officious Waiters on him. More especially when he arose from the dead , he caused these Angelick Attendants to be present, and to behold the Accomplishment of God's Promise concerning Man's Salvation and Redemption by his vanquishing of Death, and rescuing himself from the Grave. Thus *he was seen of Angels*, he was in the discharge of his Office on Earth beheld, and confess'd, and adored by the Good and Holy Angels. They bore testimony unto him in a very solemn manner.

But I have more particularly and largely insisted on their attesting his *Incarnation* and *Nativity*, because it seems to me probable that his *being seen of Angels* more especially refers to what the Apostle had first said, *he was manifest in the flesh*. They own'd and confess'd this Truth , and are perpetual Witnesses of it ; which is another Wonderful and Extraordinary thing, and above the common course of the Divine Dispensations, and therefore merits the name of *Mystery*. In the close of this Head I might add that our Saviour was *seen*, i. e. acknowledg'd even by the *Evil Angels*.

Angels. For we are expressly inform'd that those Infernal Spirits own'd and worship'd him, and paid obeisance to him. And no one will deny this to be a *Mystery*, a strange and marvelous Event, and the unexpected effect of a Divine and Extraordinary Power.

The next Branch of the *Mysterious Doctrine of Christianity* is this, *He was preach'd unto, or (rather according to the Original ~~ev~~ ^{ev} ~~ev~~ ^{ev}) among the Gentiles.* Which was the Execution of that Solemn Commission given to the Apostles, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every Creature*, 16 Mark 15. to *Gentiles*, as well as *Jews*: in contradiction to that Dispensation which prevail'd in our Saviour's time, when the Apostolical Ministry extended no further than the Land of *Judea*. But after Christ's death the Apostles travell'd into all parts of the World, and there preached the Gospel, and thereby fulfill'd that Prediction in 24 Matth. 14. *This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all Nations*, that is, to testifie that there is a Remedy provided for them in the Blood of Jesus, and that they may have the benefit of it, if they will accept of it. Accordingly St. Paul, upon his Conversion was appointed to this Province, he was a *chosen vessel*

to bear God's name before the Gentiles, and Kings, (i. e. the Kings of the Gentiles) as well as the Children of Israel, 9 Acts 15. He was chiefly design'd and set apart (as he tells us) that he might preach Christ among the Heathen, 1 Gal. 16. and therefore he stiles himself the Apostle of the Gentiles, 2 Tim. 1. 11. And he assures us, that in his time that Great Prediction and Promise was actually accomplish'd, that is, the Gospel was preached to every creature under heaven, 1 Col. 23.

And it is easie to account for its being a Mystery, for the very Apostles were ignorant of it at first: they had no apprehension of the Evangelizing of the Gentiles. And when they saw that Christ favour'd this design, some of them oppos'd it, and was angry with the rest for admitting those Outlyers to Christianity. If it had not been a Mystery, the Apostles would not have stood astonished at it as a strange and unaccountable thing, as we read 11 Acts 1, 18. When they heard that the Gentiles had received the word of God, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying (after they had as amazed persons for some time held their peace) Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life, that is, he hath sent the Gospel among them which calls them to Repentance,

tance, whereby they as well as the Jews, may have Life and Salvation.

Believed on in the world, is an Appendix to the foregoing Clause, to invite us to take notice that the glad Tidings of the Gospel were not only publish'd throughout the World, but that *Faith* was the happy effect and consequent of this Promulgation. Christ was not only preached among the *Pagans*, but heartily believed on by persons of every rank, condition, age and sex among them: for 'tis not to be doubted that *νόμῳ* here more particularly refers to *ἐθνῶν* before mentioned, for *νόμῳ* is the *Gentile* world, in opposition to the *Jews*, 11 Rom. 12. and in other places. And this is a great *Mystery*, that is, a very strange and wonderful thing, if we consider what Opposition the Doctrine of Christ met with among the *Ethnics*, and how the Wise and Learned, and the Great and the Potent stood up against it, and how contradictory it seem'd to be to the Common Reason and Notions of Mankind: and yet notwithstanding this, it prevail'd and took place in the World, and was entertain'd by Philosophers and Emperors, and at last became the Catholic Perswasion.

But here I foresee it will be objected, that *to be justified in the spirit*, and *to be be-*
lieved

believed on the world are the same, according to the Interpretation which I have fixed on the former of these, for they are both of them *approving* of Christ. But it is not likely that the Apostle in so short a compass of words would deliver the same thing twice: therefore it may be gathered thence, that I have not assigned the true meaning of being *justified in the spirit*. To which I answer, The *justifying in the spirit*, as I expounded it, respects Christ's *Person*: but *believing on him* hath chiefly relation to his *Doctrine*. The former was a hearty approbation of his Actions, and an asserting of his Innocence against the malicious Cavils and Reproaches of his Adversaries: but the latter was the giving a firm Assent to the Truth of what he delivered, together with a steadfast Trust and Confidence in his glorious Undertakings for the Redemption of Mankind. This, I suppose, is sufficient to shew the difference between these two Clauses, and consequently to clear the Interpretation which I gave of the former of them.

Lastly, This is added, *He was received up into glory*, or rather thus, *he was received, or taken up in, or with glory*; for it is a very strange perverting of the words to take *ἐν δόξῃ* for *ἐκ δόξης*. The words without doubt are meant of our

Saviour's *Ascension*, notwithstanding the frivolous Gloss of those Men who will by no means understand this part of the Text (or any of the foregoing ones) concerning Him and his Undertakings, but generally apply it to the *Mystery* before mentioned. Yea, the Authour of the *Annotations* which bear *Grotius's* name, is carried away with this senseless Notion, and he tells us that the *Mystery* is said to be *received up in glory*, because it brought a greater holiness than any other Doctrines before delivered. So wild and extravagant an Exposition doth this Great and Learned Man pitch upon, to comply with the perverse humour and fancy of some Men. But it must be acknowledg'd by all sober and impartial persons that this word ἀνελήφθην is the term that is used in Scripture to express Christ's *Ascension*, 16 Mark 19. 1 Acts 2, 11, 22. And so ἀνάληψις is applied in 9 Luke 51. and it is the word which was frequently used by the Ancient Greek Church and the Primitive Writers for the *Ascension* of our Saviour.

In the composition of which word the Preposition ἀνα is as much as πάλιν, *renewed*, and so imports Christ's *Return* to that place of Glory and Happiness from whence he came. He was *received again* into those Regions of Bliss whence he descended.

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This is the way of expressing his *Ascension*, and it is very significant. Which reminds me of a form of speaking used by the *Ancient Grecian Lawyers*, with whom ἀνάληψις τῶν παίδων is as much as *liberorum agnitio*, the Parents acknowledging and owning of those Children whom they had before cast off and discarded. Christ Jesus the Son of the Eternal God, seem'd to be exposed and rejected by his *Father*, left to the Malice of his Enemies, and forsaken of his Friends: But behold, now he is call'd home, and receiv'd into favour after his severe Rejection and Abdication. Here is, you see, the open and public Reception of him, after he seem'd to be expell'd and disinherited. He is owned by his Father to be his Genuine Son: he is declared to be the true Off-spring of Heaven by being taken up thither.

And it is emphatically said that he was received up *in or with glory*, because he was taken hence to *Heaven*, which is more especially in the Stile of the New Testament call'd δόξα, *glory*. This it is easie to observe in 24 *Luke* 26. 17 *John* 5. 22. 1 *Eph.* 17. 2 *Tim.* 2. 10. 1 *Pet.* 5. 4. and in other places.

Thus you have a short Descant on the Particular Heads of the *Mystery of Godliness*, that is, the Great Transactions which relate to the Christian Religion. I will on-

ly add this, that it is probable that these have a clear reference to what was said in the Verse immediately foregoing, namely, that *the Church is the pillar and ground of truth*, that is, it holds forth, and holds up the Great and Noble Truths of the Gospel. And if you would know particularly, saith our Apostle, what some of those Great and Mysterious Truths and Doctrines are, they are such as these, *God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, &c.* All these are *without controversie*, or (according to the Greek *ὁμολογούμενος*) *confessedly* very important Branches of the *Mystery of Godliness*.

R
EXERCITATION IX.

What is meant by the
Three Witnesses on Earth,
 namely, the *Spirit*, the
Water, and the *Blood*.

1 Epist. JOHN 5 chap. 6, 7, 8 v.

*This he that came by water
 and blood, even Jesus Christ;
 not by water only, but by
 water and blood: and it is
 the Spirit that beareth wit-
 ness, because the Spirit is
 truth. For there are three
 that bear record in Heaven,*

B b 3 the

the Father , the Word, and the Holy Ghost : and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in Earth, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood: and these three agree in one.

THIS Divine Writer acquaints us here that there are several *Witnesses* to Christianity, and to the Blessed Authour of it, and that some of them are upon Earth, and some in Heaven. Those of the former sort are *Water* and *Blood*, by which Jesus is said to have *come*, that is, to have shew'd himself to come, and to be the true Messias, and the Redeemer that was promised. And besides, *the Spirit* is another Witness upon Earth, as is expressly here said, *It is the Spirit that beareth witness.* And that very fitly, because *the Spirit is truth*, that is, the Testimony of it is true and valid, and ought not to be question'd.

Then, of the latter rank of *Witnesses* there are these Three, the *Father*, who by an audible voice from Heaven witnessed concerning Christ, 3 *Matth.* 17. | 17.5.
3 *Luke*

on 1 Epist. John 5. 6, 7, 8. 373

3 Luke 22. 12 John 28. 2 Pet. 1. 16.
Secondly, *The Word*, who gave Evidence
of the truth of his Mission, and Sonship,
and Divinity by his Heavenly Doctrine,
his Divine Miracles, which shew'd him
to come from above, and the whole work
of his Mediatorship, which was so mani-
festly Divine. And after his Ascension
he shew'd himself to be a Witness in Hea-
ven by his appearing to St. *Stephen*, 55
Acts 56. and to *Paul* the Persecutor, 22
Acts 14. and to St. *John*, 1 *Rev.* 13.
Thirdly, *The Holy Ghost*, who appeared
at our Saviour's Baptism, and visibly de-
scended upon him, 3 *Matth.* 16, 17. 1 *John*
32. and came down upon the Apostles
afterwards, 2 *Acts* 3. 5. and eminently
bore witness to the truth of the Go-
spel.

These are the three Witnesses in Hea-
ven, and there ought to be so many to
answer to the Triple Testimony on Earth,
which this Inspired Penman particularly
recites again, that we may not be mista-
ken about them. They are these three,
saith he, which I mention'd before, *the*
Spirit, the Water, and the Blood. And as
the Heavenly Witnesses *are one*, that is, are
of the same Essence and Substance, so the
Earthly Witnesses *agree in one*, that is, te-
stifie the same thing, to wit, the Truth of
Christianity.

But now the great Question is , What doth St. *John* mean by the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*? Here I will first rehearse the Opinions of others, that the Reader may, if he thinks fit, make choice of one of them; but at the same time I shall presume to give my Reasons why (as to my own part) I cannot close with any of them. And then I will acquaint the Reader what is my own peculiar Sentiment concerning this Obscure and Controverted Text.

It was * *Luther's* thought, that by the *Spirit* is meant the Office or Function of Preaching, by the *Water* Baptism, and by the *Blood* the Lord's Supper, for all these bear witness to Christ and his Truth. This cannot be denied, and as to the two latter, there is great probability that they are *included* at least in the Text, as I shall shew afterwards. But I see no ground to interpret the *Spirit* concerning Preaching, and to appropriate it only to that Evangelical Office, when as Prayer and other Exercises of Religion and Solemn Devotion may claim that title, as well as Preaching, because they are perform'd by the assistance of the same Holy Spirit. Therefore I dismiss this first Exposition of the words.

* Colloq. Mensal.

on 1 Epist. John 5. 6, 7, 8. 375

That of *Episcopus* is acceptable to some, which runs thus; By *the Spirit* he understands the Miracles done by the Apostles, which were by the help of the *Holy Ghost*. And he thinks the Ministry of *John the Baptist* is meant by *the Water*: and by *the Blood* is signified the death of the *Martyrs*, who have their Name from the *witness* which they bear to Christ Jesus. These are the three Witnesses on Earth according to this Learned Writer. But though the two latter may seem to carry something of likelihood with them, yet I can by no means assent to the first of them, and that for this very substantial Reason, because the eighth Verse speaks not of *the Spirit*, as that word is taken in the Verse before, namely, for the *Holy Ghost*, the second Person in the Sacred *Trinity*. There is a plain Distinction made by St. *John* between the Witnesses in *Heaven* and those on *Earth*, and therefore the *Holy Ghost*, and the Miracles wrought by him, can't be meant by *the Spirit* here. And further we may observe, that it is here barely said *the Spirit*, as it were to distinguish it from τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, *the Holy Spirit* in the foregoing Verse.

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It is true, the famous *Grotius* and our Bishop *Patrick*, who by *the Spirit* understand the Miracles wrought by the Holy Spirit, quote very pertinent Texts to prove that Miracles are the works of the Spirit, and Testimonies of the Truth of the Gospel. But this is no proof that the Holy Ghost's working of Miracles is meant here by the word *Spirit*: for this Interpretation would confound the Two distinct sorts of Witnesses, those in *Heaven* and those on *Earth*, which we must not be permitted to do. For our Reason will easily suggest to us that when *St. John* saith, *There are three that bear record in heaven*, and mentions them, and afterwards saith, *there are three that bear witness* (*μαρτυροῦντες*, the same word that was used before, though our Translation differs) *in earth*, and particularly specifies them, our Reason (I say) will suggest to us, that the former three are different from the latter three. I can't think that any considerate Man will deny this. But now, those who make *the Spirit* in the sixth and eighth Verses to be the *Holy Spirit* by whose power Miracles were wrought, make no distinction between that Witness and the other Witness mentioned in the seventh Verse.

For

on 1 Epist. John 5. 6, 7, 8. 377

For the same reason I cannot yield to Dr. Hammond's Exposition, who by the *bearing witness of the spirit* in this place, understands the Holy Ghost's testifying concerning Christ's Purity and Innocence at his *Baptism*, when the Spirit descended on him, and at the Descent of the Spirit upon the Apostles afterwards at *Pentecost*. For this Interpretation makes the *witness of the spirit* in one place to be the same with *the witness of the spirit* in the other, which is very unreasonable and absurd, seeing the Inspired Authour of the Epistle hath made a plain difference between the Witnesses *in Heaven* and those *on Earth*, and hath thereby, (as well as in expresse terms) contradistinguished the *Holy Ghost* from *the Spirit*.

And for this reason those other Expositors who by *the Spirit* tell us, is signified *the Holy Spirit witnessing the truth of Christianity in the hearts of believers*, or those who think that the *Spirit of Prophecy*, or the *Spirit foretelling things to come* is here meant, are to be rejected, namely, because they apply the word *Spirit* to the third Person in the Trinity, and to his Operations and Influences: which takes away the distinction between the two ranks of Witnesses, and makes them the same: which is not to be allowed of, when St. John hath so expressly distinguished them.

them. Therefore *the Spirit* in this place must of necessity be interpreted in some other sense than *the Holy Ghost* in the other Verse.

To enter then upon the business, and to offer at the true meaning of this word here, and the other two Expressions, *the Water* and *the Blood*, I am to premise this, that there is, 1. A *Literal* or *Historical* sense of these words, which relates to the History of our Saviour's Passion, and what happened at that time. 2. A *Mystical* and *Spiritual* sense, a higher meaning than the words at the first view present us with: as is usual in these great matters. By explaining these two Particulars to you, I shall fully represent the meaning of the words.

First, I do not question in the least, that according to the *Literal* acception of these words, a very considerable part of our Saviour's *Passion*, and what accompanied it, is here intended. By *the Spirit*, which St. *John* here affirms to be one of the *Witnesses on Earth*, and one of the great and last Confirmations of Christ's being the Redeemer, and of his finishing the Work of Redemption, is to be understood *his yielding up his spirit* or *soul* upon the Cross. He came into the

world

world to this very end, namely, that he might dye for us, that he might lay down his precious life for our sake. And as this was his great design in his being Incarnate, so this was a plain and undeniable *Testimony* of his being the True *Messias*, and of the Reality and Efficacy of what he undertook for us, that is, the rescuing us from the Divine Wrath and Displeasure, and obtaining the Pardon of our Sins, and accomplishing our Salvation: which could not be effected without the *death* of the *Messias*. Therefore he is said to be *the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world*, 13 Rev. 8. that is, design'd from Eternity to offer his Blood for the Ransoming of the Elect. And we see how frequently it is inculcated in the Sacred writings that *he died for us*. This is a principal Article of the Christian Faith, it is absolutely necessary to believe that *Jesus* did really, truly, and properly *Dye*, that there was a real *Dissolution* or *Separation* of his Soul and Body. Which Reality and Propriety of our Saviour's Death are excellently and most accurately demonstrated by Bishop *Pearson* in his *Exposition* of the fourth Article of the Creed.

Now,

Now, I conceive, it is this *Real Dying* or *Expiring* of Christ on the Cross that is meant by St. John. The Spirit which he gave up and sent forth from his Body at his Death, is the *Witness* here spoken of. And to this purpose I desire it may be taken notice of, how this very thing is particularly and signally recorded by every one of the Evangelists. Ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα, he yielded up the ghost, saith St. Matthew, 27 chap. 50 v. Ἐξέπνευσε, he gave up the ghost, saith St. Mark, 15 chap. 37 v. He said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, Ἐξέπνευσεν, he gave up the ghost, as St. Luke testifies, 23 chap. 46 v. Observe here that the *commending* and the *giving up of the ghost* or *spirit*, are both mentioned, because the first shews he was dying, the second assures us that he was dead. And the Evangelist St. John likewise hath left it on record that Jesus bowed his head, καὶ παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα, and gave up the ghost, 19 chap. 30 v. All which variety of Expressions is to assure us of the Reality and Certainty of his Death. So many different terms or ways of speaking denote his undergoing a true and real Death. After he had hung on the Cross six hours, he surrendered his Soul, he resigned up his Life, he

Jesus was
6 Hours on
the Cross before
He died

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he gave up his *spirit*: which is one of the *Testimonies* of his being the *Messias*, the Redemption of Mankind necessarily depending upon this. It is this *spirit* that bears witness, because this *spirit* is truth.

Then, for the *Water* and *Blood*, it is most evident that these refer also to the History of Christ's *Passion* and *Death*, where it is not only related that he gave up his *spirit*, but that there came forth water and blood out of his pierced side, 19 John 30, 34. The Reasons that prevail with me to believe that the *Water* and *Blood*, which are said to bear witness on earth, are the same with the *Water* and *Blood* here mentioned, yea, and that all the Three Witnesses, *Spirit*, *Water* and *Blood*, are no other than the *Spirit*, *Water* and *Blood* here spoken of, the Reasons (I say), which induce me to believe this, are such as these; First, It is very clear that St. *John* in this part of his Epistle refers to his own Testimony and Record in the 19th Chapter of his Gospel, v. 35. where, immediately after it is said that he (that is, Christ) gave up the *spirit* or *ghost*, and there came out of his side blood and water, this is adjoyned, He that saw it, bare record (μεμαρτύρηκε) and

and his word (*μαρτυρία*) is true, and he knoweth that he saith truth. This is his Record or Testimony which relates to the Blood and Water that issued out of Christ's side; and who sees not that These, together with the Spirit which he gave up on the Cross, are the three that bear record, *οι μαρτυροῦντες*, which our present Text particularly mentions? This Divine Writer is a Witness to these Witnesses: and as they bear witness concerning Christ, so their Testimony is the more Authentic, because this Inspired Person attests the truth of their witness.

Again, Secondly, that the Water and Blood in the words before us are to be understood of the water and blood which flowed from Christ's side, and are taken notice of in the History of his Passion, appears from hence, that they refer in both places to the same thing, that is, Christ's Passion and Death; and they are produced to the same end and purpose, namely, to attest the Certainty of our Saviour's Death, and consequently the Truth of Christianity, and the Certainty of Christ's being the true *Messias*, and *Son of God*, as we read expressly in 5, 10, 11, 12, 13 Verses of this Chapter: for the

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the Proof of this Depends upon the discharging of the Office of the *Messias*, the principal of which was to *Die* for us, and thereby to make Satisfaction to the Divine Justice for our Demerits. It was necessary therefore that the *Death* of Christ should be fully *attested*: and in order to it, This, among other passages, is related, that as soon as our Saviour's side was pierced, *Blood* and *Water* flow'd forth, which were Certain *Testimonies* of his *Death*.

For we are not to attend to what a Modern Anatomist (*Tho. Bartholine*) hath suggested, that this Blood and Water were only a *Serum* collected in Christ's *Breast* from the sleepless Nights he sustain'd, or from the excessiveness of his Agonies and Pains, and that made its way through the Orifice made in Christ's side, and received a tincture from the Wound: whence it is call'd *Water* and *Blood*, but it is indeed no mixt liquor, but a *bloody Serum*, or a waterish Humor lightly discolour'd with some Blood. But this Solution seems unsatisfactory, because the Evangelist expressly and plainly relates that *Blood* and *Water* (that is the order of the words) sprang out of Christ's side, whence it is reasonable to infer, that

the quantity of Blood was as considerable as the Water. So that the Opinion which resolves it into an abundance of Water only ting'd with Blood is groundless and precarious.

Those seem to solve this Phænomenon best, who ascribe it to the rupture of that Membrane which inwraps the Heart, and is therefore call'd by Anatomists the *Pericardium*. This Membranous Covering over that part is appointed by Nature to keep it in its right situation, and to defend it from Injuries: and within it there is a thin *lymph*a that serves to moisten and cool the heart, and to promote its Motion: so that as the *Glandula lachrymales* are for the affording of humour to moisten and supple the Eyes, without which they would be dry and stiff, and unfit for motion; so in like manner the use of this *lymph*a in the Heart is to keep that part moist and glib, and to facilitate the moving of it. Now, when the barbarous Souldier with his Spear penetrated this Membrane which enclosed the Heart, the *Water* contain'd in it flow'd forth. And the *Blood* is doubly accounted for, for there was a wide wound made in the *Lungs* by the *Spear*, which entred into them to find its

on 1 Epist. John 5. 6, 7, 8. 385

its way to the *Pericardium*, so that there could not but be an effusion of Blood: and moreover, 'tis not to be doubted that the *Heart* it self was vulnerated by the Spear: for considering the length of that sort of Weapon, and the malice of the rude Souldier who made the thrust, we can't but think that the Spear which reach'd the Lungs, and the immediate Covering of the Heart, pierced also this Entrail it self, the Spring and Fountain of Blood, from which all the Sanguinary Vessels are supplied, and convey the Blood to all the parts of the Body. This gives us a satisfactory account of the *Blood* that came flowing from Christ's side, not a superficial discolouring of the Water with Blood from the Wound made in his flesh.

And now, when that *Capsula* of his Heart, and with it, it is probable, the heart it self was penetrated, he could not possibly live any longer. What then could be more pertinently recorded by the Evangelist than this, to ratifie the reality of his Dying, though it was said before that he was dead? But now much more, when the Spear was run into his side, this might be concluded. And therefore it is seasonably attested here by

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the Divine Penman, to assure us of the truth, and of the necessity of our Saviour's Death. Take this whole matter in the words of an * Excellent Writer, "It was not out of Compassion, saith he, "that the merciless Souldiers brake not "his Legs, but because they found him "dead whom they came to dispatch. And "being enraged that their cruelty should "be thus prevented, with an impertinent "villany they pierce his side, and with a "foolish revenge endeavour to kill a dead "Man: Thereby becoming stronger Witnesses than they would, by being less "the Authours then they desired, of his "death. For out of his sacred, but "wounded side, came *blood* and *water*, "both evident signs of his present death. Thus he. Who then, upon the revolving of these things, can question whether the *Blood* and *Water* we have undertaken to treat of, be the very same with that *Blood* and *Water* mention'd in the Evangelical History of Christ's Passion, seeing they are in both places mention'd to the same end and purpose, that is, to confirm the Certainty of our Saviour's dying and expiring on the Cross, as we have shew'd? Thus *they agree in one*, and

* Bishop Pearson on the fourth Article of the Creed.

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it is rightly said of them all *three* in this place : which shews it is a Natural Interpretation.

Thirdly, Who can doubt of it when he considers, and finds that these Three Witnesses, *the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood* mention'd by St. John in his Epistle are to be met with all *together* in the Narrative of Christ's Passion, which the same St. John hath committed to writing in his Gospel? This is sufficient to acquaint us what this Sacred Writer means in his Epistle. Immediately after he had said, our Saviour *gave up the spirit*, he relates what the Souldiers did to the Crucified Persons, and particularly to Christ, *one of them with a Spear pierced his side, and forthwith came out water and blood.* The finding of these thus *together* in the same place, in the same Relation, plainly directs us to the understanding of the meaning of these words, *the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood*, when we meet with them again *together*, as we do in the Epistle of St. John. I am perswaded that if this be weigh'd, it will very much incline Persons to embrace the Exposition I have offer'd.

And lastly, It is not inconsiderable that there is the same *Order* observ'd in the words in both places: for both in the Gospel and in the Epistle *the Spirit* is mention'd in the first place, and then in the next place the *water* and *blood*, or the *blood* and *water*: which further establishes our Interpretation. Whereas, it is most probable that if there were not this matter of History contain'd in the words, which came to pass in such an Order of Time, we might have found the Expressions inverted, and *water* and *blood* had been placed before *the spirit*. But we see the contrary, that is, when the Holy Ghost comes to reckon the *Witnesses on Earth* in their due order and series (for before he had not intended that order, and speaks promiscuously) as he did in the foregoing Verse the *Witnesses in Heaven*, he observes the same placing of them that he had used in the 19th Chapter of *St. John's Gospel*. Which further establishes the foregoing Exposition, and shews that these Expressions in both places refer to the same things, that is, Christ's Death on the Cross, and what happen'd immediately after to him.

These are the Reasons and Motives which prevail with me to interpret this place

place concerning that Historical part of our Lord and Saviour's Passion, which relates how he yielded up his *spirit*, and how immediately after that his sacred Side was pierced, and *blood* and *water* gush'd out thence.

But beside the *Historical* and *Literal* sense, there is also a *Mystical* and *Spiritual* meaning in the words. And first, the *spirit*, or *giving up of the spirit* is without doubt of great significancy, and represents to us his bestowing of his *Sacred Spirit* on all true Christian Believers. But what ground is there, it may be ask'd, for such a Thought as this? I answer, I am directed to it by what we read in 20 *John* 22. *Christ breathed on them* (i. e. his Apostles) and said, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*. This *breathing* was a sign and assurance to them of a *Divine Inspiration*, of his conferring the *Holy Spirit* on them. And indeed, most of the External Acts of our Saviour had a *Spiritual* meaning and tendency in them. Surely then the very Last and Concluding Act of our Blessed Lord was of that nature, it had some signification in it above what the bare surface of the Action imports. The *breathing out*, or *yielding up of his spirit*, which is so punctually recorded by *all* the Evangelical

gelical Writers, must certainly, in the highest meaning of it, signifie the giving of his Holy Spirit, and the powerful operation of it in the hearts of the Faithful, confirming and clearing the truth of Christ's Divinity, and the reality of all that he had said and done before, and also the effectual sanctifying them by the same Holy Spirit. The more solemn and visible Instance or Example of which we have on the Day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles in a miraculous and extraordinary manner, and with the liberal effusion of the Gifts and Graces of that Sacred Spirit.

Next, the *Water* that sprang from our Saviour's side hath its peculiar signification, and is mystically applied by the most Judicious Expositors. It signifies cleansing and purifying, says the Great *Calvin*, and *Beza* his Learned Successor, and is an Emblem of the Sanctity and Exemplary Lives of Believers: which are eminent *Witnesses on Earth* of the Excellency and Efficacy of Christianity: for others seeing the Good Works of the Faithful do glorifie God, and magnifie the Vertue of their most Holy Religion, which it self is a *Witness* to Christ and his Cause. Likewise, the *Water* denotes the Sanctity, Innocence,

on 1 Epist. John 5. 6, 7, 8. 391

nocence, and purity of Christ himself, as those Learned Annotators *Grotius* and *Hammond* rightly suggest. Our Saviour, say they, appear'd to be the Son of God by *Water*, that is, by his Pure Life, which is expressed by *water* and *washing* in Scripture, as in 1 *Isai.* 16. 36 *Ezek.* 25. And by *Water* is meant the Purity of Christ's *Doctrine*, as also his *Baptism*, saith Bishop *Patrick*. These are ample *Testimonials* of the Divinity of Christ, and of the Truth of his *Messiahship*.

In the *Blood* likewise is included a Mystery. The Learned Expositors before mention'd (as well Natives as Foreigners) interpret it of the Efficacy of the Bloody Death which Christ underwent: they understand it of the Expiatory Sacrifice of his Blood on the Cross, whereby our sins are purged away, and we reconciled to God. And this Expiation may deservedly bear the name of a *Witness*, because it testifies and confirms the truth of Christ's Priestly Office, and consequently of Christianity it self, which is founded upon it. These are the great things which, in the Mystical Sense of the words, are to be understood by the *Water* and *Blood* which came out of Christ's side at his Crucifixion.

There

There are other Expositions of Learn-
Men which are not to be despised, yea,
perhaps they deserve to be joyn'd with
those afore specified. One of the Anci-
ents, *Gregory Nyssen*, interprets the *Water*
and *Blood* concerning the Legal Purifica-
tions made by washing, and by sprinkling
of Blood. *Jesuo Christ came by water and*
by blood, that is, according to this Excel-
lent Writer, Christ was he, who (as it
was meet) fulfilled the Law; yea, the
very Rites and Ceremonies of it were all
accomplish'd in him; he was the Sub-
stance of all the Legal Types and Sha-
dows. Which Interpretation is favour'd
by our Learned *Lightfoot*, who gives it as
his Sentiment, that *the water and blood* are
the Antitype of the Old Covenant made
with *water and blood*, 9 Heb. 19. Now
the Type is fulfill'd in this Eminent In-
stance that is before us.

There is another Opinion, that is very
Ancient, and is back'd by some of the
most considerable Fathers of the Christi-
an Church, as *Cyrl of Alexandria*, *St.*
Chrysostom, &c. who are perswaded, that
the water and blood which flow'd from
Christ's side represent the Two Sacraments,
Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Which
Notion I find is entertain'd by a Great
Man

Man of our Church, and is thus explained by him, * “ These (*i. e.* the *water* and “ the *blood*) are the Two blessed Sacra- “ ments of the Spouse of Christ, each “ assuring her of the Death of her Beloved. “ The Sacrament of Baptism, the Water “ through which we pass into the Church “ of Christ, teacheth us that he died to “ whom we come. *For know ye not,* “ saith St. Paul, *that so many of us as are* “ *baptized into Jesus Christ, are baptized* “ *into his death?* The Sacrament of the “ Lord’s Supper, the Bread broken and “ the Wine poured forth, signifie that “ he died who instituted it: and *as* “ *often as we eat this bread, and drink this* “ *Cup, we shew forth the Lord’s death till* “ *he come.* So that on this account the *water* and the *blood* are pertinently brought in by St. John as *Witnesses* of the certainty of our Saviour’s death, and constant remembrancers of it.

But though these two last Interpretations of the words may be allowed a secondary place, yet I conceive the first is deservedly due to the former Expositions, which present us with the more obvious and immediate matter

* Bp. Pearson’s Exposition of the Fourth Article of the Creed.

contain'd in the Spiritual and Mystical acception of the words ; and they are *Purity* and *Expiation*. Christ Jesus *came by water*, that is, with Holiness in his own Person, and requiring it in all those that are his Followers and Disciples. Their Lives must be pure and innocent, spotless and undefiled. *He came by blood*, with full Expiation of our sins, by offering his own Blood on the Cross, and thereby purchasing the pardon of our sins, for without shedding of Blood there is no remission.

This seems to be so plain and genuine a Resolution of the words, that no Man can without great difficulty and reluctancy make opposition to it. For here we are presented with the Two Properties of a Redeemer or Saviour, namely, to *Sanctifie* and to *Aton*e. The flux of *water* out of Christ's side was an Emblem of the one, and the flowing of *blood* thence was a representation of the other. And this is worth our observing (which may give farther light to the place) that it is said here, *Christ came not by water only, but by water and blood*: to acquaint us that both these are absolutely necessary ; that it is requisite that Jesus should not only puri-
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on 1 Epist. John 5. 6, 7, 8. 395

fie us , but *justifie* us. They go together 5 *Acts* 31. and they can never be divided. Christ's *coming by Water and Blood* , shews that there is no Separating of these two , that one of these cannot be without the other. This was a grand important Truth taught us by those Visible Symbols at Christ's Crucifixion.

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EXERCITATION X.

Historical and Casuistical :

i. e.

**Containing the Natural
History of the**

Serpents Wisdom or Subtilty,

And shewing

**How far it is Lawful for
us to imitate it.**

A L S O,

**How we may be said to
be Harmless as Doves.**

EXCITATION

Historical and Philosophical

Containing the Natural

History of the

Republics of Liberty

and showing

how far it is lawful for

us to resist

and

How we may be said to

be happy as Deists

IO MATTH. 16.

*Be ye therefore wise as Serpents,
and harmless as Doves.*

HERE, before I enter upon the several Instances of the *Serpentine Wisdom*, it might be in general remark'd, That even *Beasts* are propounded to us as Teachers of our Duty. Brutes may preach Morality to Men. Thus the *Jewish Rabbits* say, If the Law had not been given, we might have learn'd Shamefacedness of the *Cat*, (which always covers its Excrements;) we might be taught to avoid Rapine from the *Ant*, (which gathers her Provision in Summer, and never robs her Neighbours;) to be Chast and Continent, and to fly Lust, from the *Dove*, (which always is true to her Consort.) And those words in 35 Job 11. *Who teacheth us more than the Beasts of the Earth*, are applied by the Hebrew Doctors to this purpose. Thus among the *Egyptians*, their Religious Mysteries, and many of their Moral Doctrines were contained in their *Hieroglyphicks*, which were

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most of them borrowed from *Beasts*. But as *all* the Creatures, being heedfully considered, abundantly minister to our Instruction, and reminds us of our Duty, so *those* especially are to be regarded whom the Holy Ghost in Sacred Writ hath selected for this purpose. *Isaiah* propounds to the Stubborn *Israelites* the Ox and *Ass*, the former of which *knoweth his Owner*, and the latter *his Master's Crib*, 1 *Isai.* 3. And *Jeremiah* reminds that People of their Duty, and upbraideth them for their folly, by setting them before them the *Stork which knoweth her appointed times*, and the *Turtle and the Crane and the Swallow*, which observe the time of their coming, 8 *Jer.* 7. *Solomon* sends the *Sluggard* to the *Ant*, to learn a Lecture of *Wisdom* and Prudent Forecast, 6 *Prov.* 6. We are sent by our Saviour to the *Fowls of the Air*, 6 *Mat.* 26. that by a Survey of their Condition we may learn to confide in God's Providence, and to banish all immoderate Care and Anxiety of Mind. And here in the words under our present consideration, he sets before his Followers those ordinary Animals, *Serpents* and *Doves*, and exhorts them to resemble them in their known qualities of *Prudence* and *Innocence*.

I begin with the former of these, the *Serpentine Wisdom*. And here I suggest this to be observed, That it is not improbable that our Saviour in these words, *Be wise as Serpents*, alludes to 3 Gen. 1. *The Serpent was more subtile than any Beast of the Field*. The * Hebrew word which we render [Subtile] is taken often in the worst sense, and is equivalent with the Greek *πῶς*, crafty, skilful to deceive others. And this Sense is intimated in the † Hebrew word which signifies a *Serpent*; this Creature hath its Name in that Language, from its *Searching* and *Sagacious* Nature. Hence *Colubrinum ingenium* is used in *Plantus* to express a Crafty subtile Wit. Therefore the *Serpent*, above all other Creatures, was a fit Instrument of the Devil, when he designed to inveigle the poor unwary Woman in Paradise.

But the word may be also taken in a good sense, for a commendable *Sagacity*: as it is certain the Natural Subtilty of the Serpent was not evil in it self, however the Abuse of it by the Devil's means was unspeakably evil and destructive. Accordingly the *Septuagint* render the Text thus, *The Serpent was the || Wisest of all*

* [Gnarum] whence perhaps the Lat. [gnarus] the same with *astutus*, subtile, sly.

† *Nachash*, which some derive from *nachash*, scrutari, experiri, tentare.

‡ *נָחָשׁ מִכָּל הַחַיָּוִת*.

the Beasts that were on the Earth. Which is the word that our Saviour here uses, when he gives it in charge to his Disciples to be as * *wise as Serpents.* So then it is a *laudable*, or rather a *holy subtilty and wisdom* which he here intends. *I send you forth,* saith he; *as sheep in the midst of wolves;* *be ye therefore wise as Serpents.* I do not bid you prepare Weapons to fight. I do not wish you to use Violence; neither would I have you use Fraud, and behave your selves craftily. But this is that which I advise you to, seeing you must converse in the World, which is full of Snares and Dangers, be careful to walk warily, see that you be very Prudent and Wise in your Carriage.

Now seeing Christ thought fit to set forth this Prudence and Wisdom by the Example of the *Serpent*, it is very proper to observe what there is in this Animal that affords Matter of Imitation, in reference to the wise Conducting our selves in the World. It is the Intention of our Saviour in these words, that we should make these Creatures our Patterns: but this cannot be, unless we particularly enquire into those Instances of the Serpentine Wisdom which are to be found treated of in the Writings of *Philosophers* and

Natural Historians, and which by *Common Tradition* are known to most; for these without doubt gave occasion to our Lord to mention this sort of Animals as Examples of Prudence.

I. It is probable Christ had respect in these words to that ὀξύδρακς, that *quickness of sight* which is observable in *Serpents*. Thence ὄφης from ὀφιομαχ, according to the Etymologists. They have, by the general acknowledgment of Naturalists, the *quickest eye* of all Animals. Hence that of * *Horace*,

—tam cernis acutum
Quàm aut aquila, aut Serpens Epidaurius.---

Hence *Dragons* (a sort of *Serpents*) were Emblems of *Watchfulness* of old: and the Poets set them as Keepers of the Garden of the *Hesperides*, because they were so well qualified for that Office, by being exceeding *clear-sighted*. And they carry this in their Name: not only the *Greek* and *Latin* words, but the *English* [*Dragon*] coming from δερπω, ἐδεγων.

This is the first Instance of the Natural Sagacity of those Creatures which I am speaking of. And herein our Saviour

* Lib. 1. Sat. 3.

would have his Followers resemble them, and thereby discover a great *Wisdom*. A wise Man is the True *Argus*, full of Eyes, he looks about him, and espieth both his Advantage and his Danger: especially by discerning this latter, he knows how to bring about the former. The Danger which he is obnoxious to, he is so Sharp-sighted, as to see afar off; and when it approacheth, he sees what he is to do to avoid it, because he nourisheth in himself that ἐκκλινον τὴ κακῇ, as the *Stoicks* call it, that Natural Inclination which is rooted in Man to shun Evil and Danger. We may observe of the Patriarch *Jacob*, that when *Esau* was marching towards him, he did not unadvisedly expose himself to his Brother's Hostility, but used a certain honest Policy, dividing his Retinue and his Flock into two Bands or Companies, *that if Esau came to one of them and smote it, then the other which was left might escape*, 32 Gen. 8. The like Prudent Care doth every Good and Wise Man take of his own Safety, and of those that are his Charge. He provides that it may not be said to him, as the Traveller said to the Star-gazer, when he saw him drop into a Ditch, * You look up, Sir, but do not mind what is below, your Eye

* Νῦν δεῖς ἄνω, τὴν γῆν δὲ βλέπεις. Gab. Fab.

is on Heaven, but you do not look to your feet on the Earth. So it may be said in the like manner, you are not solicitous to shun the Perils that are before you, you *carelessly* and *foolishly* suffer your selves to be hurt and indamaged as to your Body, Estate, and Worldly Concerns. The *Prudent Christian* will not let any thing of this be objected to him; but he is Wary and Circumspect, and observes whom he converseth with, and enquires whether his Safety is like to be endanger'd by them. He listens to those Precepts of Prudence in 7 Mic. 5. *Trust ye not in a Friend, put ye not confidence in a Guide; keep the doors of thy mouth from her that lyeth in thy bosom.* That is, have a prudent Jealousie and Suspicion of all Persons; stand upon your guard, when you see occasion for it; be not over-forward to trust your nearest Friends and Associates.

It will be very useful to attend to our Saviour's words in the Verse after this, which I am now descanting upon; for they will serve as a Comment on this Clause. *Beware of Men*, saith he, which is as much as if he had said, You my Disciples, and all of you to the end of the World who are my True Followers, shall meet with subtile and malicious Enemies: they will use all the Arts they can to cir-

cumvent and insnare you: They will speak you fair, and seem to wish your welfare, when they really design to mischief you. I premonish you therefore to *beware of them*, to have a care that you be not deceived by them. And to this purpose, study the Nature, look into the Manners of Men. And Christs Practice was answerable to his Advice. *When many believed in his Name, upon seeing the Miracles which he did, it is said, he did not commit himself unto them, 2 John 23, 24.* The Elegant Turn of the words in the Original is worth our notice, *ὁρισμεν*, they believed in him, but he *οὐκ ὁρισμεν* would not trust himself with them. He would not unadvisedly and rashly confide in his Country-men, lest they should, or rather because he knew that they would prove false, and that their believing in him was but temporary. We ought to use the like Prudence, and not rashly to commit our selves to those who we suspect will do us harm, notwithstanding they profess the contrary. We must thus *beware of Men*, and of their Snares: for to be soon catch'd, and easily drawn aside, is an argument of *Folly*. But if we will shew our selves *wise*, we must be careful that we be not brought into Snares and Traps by cunning Men.

And

And for this we have our Saviour's Example again; when the *Jewish* Priest's labour'd to entrap him in his words, putting several Captious Questions to him, he prudently diverted and put them by: as when they ask'd him, *by what Authority and Power he preach'd and did his Miracles*, 21 *Acts* 23. he answered that Query by another, If you are for starting of Questions, I will be even with you there, *I also will ask you one thing*, pray tell me *by what Authority did John act*, do you think his Baptism was of men, or from heaven? and so he stopp'd their mouths. And observe how cautiously and wisely he answer'd the Question which the Pharisees raised about a Man's putting away his Wife, 19 *Matth.* 3, 4. &c. for the Controversie at that time was grown very warm concerning the Causes of Divorce. So when they asked him about the Tribute-money to be given to *Cæsar*, thinking to expose him either to the Fury of the *Roman* Emperour, or of the *Jewish* People, he call'd for a *Roman* Penny, and from the Image and Superscription of *Cæsar* on it, he gave this wise Answer, *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's*. Whereupon the Learned *Gratius* says thus, * By his most Discreet

* *Sapientissimo responso & mota seditionis & violata religionis calumniam in insidiosissima questione effugit.* In locum.

Answer

Answer he evaded the Calumny of his being a Mover of Sedition, and a Violator of Religion, which was implied and insinuated in that insnaring Question of the Jews. If he had answered Negatively, concerning the Lawfulness of Paying Tribute, he would certainly have been tax'd of Treason against the Emperour: If Affirmatively, he could not but have fall'n into the Peoples dislike, for they reckon'd themselves free, and subject to none. Wherefore he discreetly and wisely answer'd in a General and Ambiguous Manner. Thus our Saviour, who bids us be *as wise as Serpents*, was so Himself: his cunning Adversaries were not able to Intangle him. He had the *Serpent's Eye*: So ought we to have likewise, that we may *see into* the Stratagems of our Enemies, and *look to* their Politick Wiles and Trains. We must be Wary and Vigilant: and by this Watchfulness we may either prevent the Evil which is designed against us, or we may be provided against it.

II. As *Serpents* are noted for their quick Sight, so likewise for their *Hiding themselves*: and in this we may suppose, as well as in the former, Christ would have his Disciples imitate the *Wisdom of Serpents*. These Creatures, out of a natural

tural Cunning and Principle of Self-preservation, have always their Lurking-holes into which they creep, and there they Retire till they find it safe for them to come abroad. In a resembling manner, it is the *Wisdom* of Christ's Followers to keep themselves out of danger by Retiring. Christianity doth not allow them to run rashly and unadvisedly into danger, and without cause bring themselves into Calamity; but it bids them prevent it by all lawful means, particularly by *lying hid*, and *not discovering themselves*. There is a time when their *Perswasions*, their *Actions*, their *Infirmities*, their *Persons* may and ought to be hid.

First, As to their *Perswasions* and *Belief*, they may be in such Circumstances that these may lawfully be conceal'd. In a time of Imminent danger a Christian may be excused from publicly professing those Doctrines which he is sure will provoke the Rage of his Adversaries, and cause them to procure his Ruine. As suppose I were in some Country where Popery is universally received, and no other Perswasion tolerated, if I speak in defence of it, I damn my Soul; if I speak against it, I indanger my Body: therefore, in this Case, it is best to be Silent. But perhaps some will oppose to this, and to all manner of concealing the Truth, the

the Words and the Example of Holy David, 40 Psal. 10. *I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation; I have not concealed thy loving-kindness and thy truth from the great congregation.* This godly King and Prophet held it unlawful to conceal or dissemble his Religion, he thought he was bound in Conscience to Profess and Declare what he believed. Again, It will be said, if I make it a part of *Christian Wisdom* to be Silent in Times of Danger, then I make all the *Martyrs* Fools: for it was very unadvisedly and foolishly done of them to make an open Profession of those Doctrines which they knew would inrage their Enemies, and consequently procure their Death. Therefore that we may not be mistaken in so important and weighty a Matter, it is requisite that I explain what I said before. When I asserted that it is *Christian Prudence* and *Wisdom* to conceal our Belief in time of Imminent Danger, I meant it with these following Qualifications, and not otherwise.

1. When I say we may conceal our Perswasions, it is supposed that we are Persons in a Private Capacity, that is we are not Rulers and Governours, nor Ministers and Guides of the People, that we are not in any Eminent Post in Church

Church or State ; for such Persons are obliged to give *Example* to others in a more signal manner ; and therefore they by their Silence will give just occasion to others to think that they Believe not those Doctrines which they will not utter and publicly profess. *David* therefore, a King in *Israel*, could not be excused from *Declaring the Truth in the great Congregation*. If he had done otherwise, he had occasioned many to forsake the Truth ; for the Examples of Princes, and other Great and Eminent Men are greedily followed by the Multitude ; whereas the Actions of Meaner Persons, and such as move in a Lower Sphere, are not much taken notice of. Therefore a Private Person may sometimes do that which it is not lawful for one in Publick Place to do: the former may hold his peace, when the other is bound to speak, and that aloud.

2. This *Concealing* which I mean must be among our selves, and not before a Magistrate: for he hath Authority and Power to demand of us an Account of our Faith; and therefore to Disguise it in a Publick Court of Law and Judicature, is below the Excellent Spirit of a Christian Man, and unworthy of a Follower of Jesus. Therefore the *Martyrs*, when they were legally summoned and called before the Tribunals of the Magistrates, undauntedly

tedly owned and openly professed those Doctrines and Truths which they might lawfully have conceal'd, if they had been in other Circumstances. But is it not said, *Be ready always to give an answer to Every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you?* 1 Pet. 3. 15. I answer, We must not think that by every Man here is to be understood every little busie Informer, every trifling Enquirer: but those may justly expect an Answer from us containing the Reason of our Hope and Faith, who have some Command over us, as Governours and Magistrates. When we are lawfully call'd to profess the Truth before these, it is a sin to be Silent.

3. We may lawfully keep Silence when we cannot promote the Good and Salvation of others by our openly Declaring the Truth; but on the contrary, we are sure we shall but Harden them, and procure their Rage, and thereby our own Ruine. Our Infalible Master hath taught us this, 7 Matth. 6. *Give not that which is holy to the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before Swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again, and rent them.* When we see our Doctrine despised, derided, trampled upon by Dogs and Swine, and when they turn again to revenge themselves upon us, and to trample us under their feet too, we may forbear our In-

Instructions in such a case, we may reserve our *holy* Things for others, we may keep our *Pearls* for those who will gladly hang them at their *Ears*, joyfully attend to them, and embrace them, not rudely and prophanelly tread them under their feet. We may observe the Apostle's carriage in 19 *Acts* 9. *When divers of the Jews* (who St. Paul had boldly spoken to, as we read in the foregoing Verse) *were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the Multitude, he departed from them.* When they grew obdurate themselves, and began to harden others, by speaking evil of the Apostle's Doctrine, he thought it was time to be Silent, and leave them to themselves. Thus when we see there is no hopes of amending those we speak to, but we find that Obduracy, Unbelief, and after these Railing and Evil Speaking, and Derision, and at last Inhumane Violence, Cruelty and Persecution follow our Doctrine and Instructions, we may be excused from offering these to them; an open Professing and Inculcating of holy Truths are now Untimely.

4. We may be Silent when our Silence proceeds not from our being *Ashamed* of Christ and his Cause, or from a slavish *Fear* of what Men can do unto us, but from an Innocent Desire to preserve ourselves. Natural Reason dictates to us, that
we

we ought to consult our own Safety: and therefore we may in prosecution of this Rational Principle endeavour to Secure our selves, and to avoid Danger. But then, at the same time, we must take care that we indulge not those Illegitimate Passions, that that Vile Shame and Unchristian Fear do not Influence upon us: for then our Silence will certainly be unlawful and vitious.

5thly and lastly, Silence in Evil Times is meant either of Lesser Truths or of Greater. When it relates to Truths of a Lesser and Lower Nature, or to Things Indifferent, and of a Middle sort, it may be lawful and commendable; but not when it hath respect to Truths of a Higher Rank, and such as are Necessary and Fundamental. All Truths are not alike. Some are more Plain and Evident than others: some are more Useful and Necessary than others. As there are Damnable Doctrines, so there are Saving ones: there are some that are indispensably requisite to be believed in order to Salvation and Happiness: but there are others which are not of that Great Moment, and a Man may be saved without the actual belief of them. It is granted by all, that he may at some times safely, and with a good Conscience, conceal his Perswasion as to these Truths which are of a Lower Nature,

ture, or which rather are probable Opinions, or doubtful Propositions. But as to those Doctrines which are Certain and Undoubted Verities, and are of the Foundation of Christianity, they are not only entirely to be Consented to, but they must be openly Acknowledg'd.

Yet there are some certain *Circumstances* wherein if a Man be placed, he may make use of his Christian Prudence, and for a time forbear from an open Professing and Declaring of those Great and Weighty Truths. I have mentioned some of these Circumstances in the preceding Particulars; as namely, if a Man be in a private Capacity, if he be not brought before a Magistrate, if he be certain he cannot promote the Good of others, by perswading or convincing them, but is sure he shall harden them; if he sees also that instead of doing them Good, he shall bring inevitable Evil and Destruction upon himself, if his Silence proceed not from sinful Shame and Dread, but only from an harmless Design of Securing himself; if it be thus, his Concealing the Truth will admit of Excuse, yea Approbation.

I add this one thing more (and indeed it is the Sum of all) our open Acknowledgment and Profession may be dispensed with when *God's Glory* and *Honour* are not impaired thereby: Otherwise it is absolutely unlawful. Accordingly we

read that *Daniel*, though he knew the Writing was sign'd, and the Royal Decree pass'd, that whosoever should ask a Petition of any God or Man for Thirty days, save of the King, should be cast into the Den of Lions, yet *went into his house, and his windows being open in his Chamber towards Jerusalem, he kneeled on his knees three times a day, and prayed to God, as he did aforetime*, 6 Dan. 10. He would not omit his Devotion, and that openly and audibly, notwithstanding he knew the Danger he was in: for he was an Eminent Person, and the Chief of the Captive Jews, his Example would have been taken notice of, and followed by others, and for God's Name would have been blasphemed, the People of God spoken ill of, their Religion disgraced, and thereby the Divine Honour and Glory diminished. This is the Reason why *Daniel* could not content himself with a Silent and Private Devotion. But if upon serious Examination we perceive that the Hiding of our Perswasion for a time, will not be prejudicial to the Glory of the Most High, that we shall not thereby give occasion to others to Dishonour that Holy Name, that we shall not bring a Scandal on the Church, and cause Religion to be reproached and blasphemed, that we shall not weaken the Truth of the

the Gospel, nor indanger the Salvation of our Brethren ; if we find our selves in these Circumstances, we may safely, upon Occasion, that is, in time of apparent Danger, make use of a *Prudent* and *Discreet Silence*, but not otherways by any means. And that This is not unworthy of a Christian Man, I need not laboriously prove, if we will but permit these insuing *Texts* and *Examples* to prevail with us. That one place might be sufficient, *3 Amos 13. The prudent shall keep silence in that time, for it is an evil time.* In which words the Practice of what I have been speaking of is commanded, and the Wisdom of it asserted. And perhaps that of the same Prophet, 6 chap. to v. looks the same way, *Hold thy tongue, for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord :* at present it is a part of Prudence to forbear. *I was dumb with silence, I held my peace, even from good,* saith the Psalmist, *39 Psal. 2.* Though his sorrow was stirred, as he there adds, yet his Tongue moved not, because he found it was not a fit Time to speak. That of *Solomon* is directly to our purpose, *There is a time to keep silence, and a time to speak,* 3 *Eccel. 7.* And this may be the sense of his words in 12 *Prov. 23. A prudent man concealeth knowledge.* From this Prudence, it is probable, it was that *David* doth not

E e 2 plainly

plainly name *Saul*, the Son of *Kish* the *Benjamite* in the 7th *Psalme*, which was design'd against him, but disguises him under the name of *Cush* the Son of *Femini*. He would not exasperate him at that time by expressing his Name fully and plainly.

Look into the *New Testament*, and there you will find, that from the same prudential Principle Christ charged his Disciples that they should tell no Man that he was *Jesus the Christ*, 16 *Matth.* 20. The like he did, 8 *Mark* 30. and yet in the same Chapter, Christ saith, *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed.* Whence I gather, that though we are obliged to profess Christ and his Truth, and not to be Ashamed of either, yet Christian Discretion will dictate to us to forbear the publick Profession of them for a certain season. The Father of the Man that was born blind, thinking that the Priests and Pharisees might take Advantage of him, if he acknowled'd *who* it was that healed his Son, made no Answer to their Question, but put it off to his Son, *He is of age*, saith he, *ask him, he shall speak for himself*, 19 *John* 21. This was prudently done of him to avoid the Displeasure and Fury of those Men. A wise Man will not declare and publish all he knows. We

read

read in 23 *Acts* 6. That when St. Paul perceived that the one part of his Auditors were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the Conncel, Men and Brethren, I am a Pharisee, and the Son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am call'd in question. St. Paul's Prudence is discern'd in this, that he conceal'd part of the Truth, to gain the Pharisees to his side, and to escape the Danger he was in. He was a Pharisee, it is true, as to one Point, viz. that which caused the Division between the Sect of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, that is, the Doctrine of the Resurrection: but otherwise he was far from being a Pharisee, and abhorrd both their Doctrines and Ways; tho' it is true he had been of this Sect, as he tells us in 26 *Acts* 5. 3 *Phil.* 5. and so by prudently mentioning his former way of life, he labours to work upon his Hearers at present, at the same time saying nothing of the Change that was wrought in him.

The Apostle sheweth the like Prudence in 2 *Thess.* 2. 7. The mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth, will let, until he be taken out of the way. By *εἰς τὸν καιρὸν*, he that letteth, is meant without doubt the Roman Emperour, or Empire rather; but the Apostle thought fit at that time to disguise it, and intimate it

only after this general and obscure manner. And St. * *Jerom* is of this opinion, who saith, That though St. *Paul* meant the *Roman* Empire by that word, yet he would not expressly name it, lest the Emperours should be revenged on the Christians, and persecute the Church on that account. So St. *John* in the *Revelation* speaking of *Antichrist*, doth it obscurely, and his Words are as mystical as the Thing and Persons he means by them. *Babylon*, the chief City of *Chaldea*, represents in this Book another great noted City: but it was not safe to speak out then. By these Examples we may satisfie our selves of the lawfulness of being Silent or Reserved upon occasion.

I might alledge Examples from those that *are without*. The Philosopher would not dispute his best with *Adrian* the Emperour, and gave this for his reason, because (saith he) it is fitting to yield to him who commands Thirty Legions. Seeing that Remark of Sir *Walter Raleigh* (in his *Instructions to his Son*) holds good, Truth it self cutteth his Throat that carrieth her publicly in every place; it follows thence, that though it is unlawful to Lie, and speak contrary to the Truth, yet it is not unlawful, but prudent, to refrain

* Ad Algafiam.]

from declaring the Truth some times. And there may be the same reason for *not writing* as for *not speaking*. There is the Prudence of the Pen, as well as of the Tongue. It was wittily said of the Poet, against whom the Emperour *Augustus* had writ a bitter Satyr, It is dangerous Scribbling against him who can Proscribe: I do not love Banishment and Outlawing so well as to purchase them with my Pen. I shall only add this, for the settling this part of Christian Prudence, that we may conclude it is then Unsafe and Unwise to *write openly*, when it is so to *speak*.

Secondly, *Actions* as well as *Perswasions* (which are discovered by *Words*) admit of a prudent Concealment, or Cessation rather, in time of great Danger. Discretion will teach us to Suspend our Actions for a time, and to meddle as little as we can. Especially we are not to act out of our Sphere: if we be private Persons, we must observe our particular Station. Mr. *Fox* relates that an English Merchant at *Portugal*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, snatched the Host, and beat the Chalice out of a Priest's Hands before the King and all his Nobility, for which he was condemned to the Flames, and patiently underwent the Punishment. This was an Act of Great Zeal, and in regard of that well-pleasing

to God, but there was wanting that Christian Prudence which our Saviour here directs us to, to be *wise as Serpents*, *and to lye hid* upon occasion, to consult our Preservation and Safety by an honest and discret Disguise. There may be a season when it shall be fittest for us to *lye still*, and take the Advice which was given *Luther*, Get thee gone into thy Cell, and be- take thy self to thy Prayers. Instead of Acting it may be most proper for us to spend our time in Devotion, and that in private. It is true, *Daniel opened his windows, and pray'd*, but I have said before on what account that was. If we are not in his Circumstances, our Secret Prayers will be accepted, for our Saviour hath bid us *enter into our Closets, and shut the door upon us when we pray*. If our Prayers and Tears and Lamentations by being taken notice of become dangerous, we may retire and discharge our selves in private. Thus *Isaiah* weeping bitterly for the Sins and Calamities of the *Jews*, cries unto them, *Look away from me*, 22 Isa. 4. And when *Jeremiah* saw that his Tears, which he publicly shed, were offensive, he tells them, *his soul shall weep in secret*, 13 Jer. 17. And here under this Head I will insert, that we may lawfully, in case of Necessity, do some things which may have a Shew of that to others which we never intended.

intended. It is the judgment of a *Learned Man upon 14 Acts 20. that St. Paul feigned himself dead, and when he heard the voice of none about him but his Friends and Brethren, the Disciples, he got up. He thought this was the way to save himself at that time: and being in very great Peril, he might perhaps use this prudent means, when all other fail'd. But David's counterfeiting himself a distracted Person, and making shew of it by his strange Postures, was of another kind, and was below the Dignity of such a Person, or any other, and was accompanied with unseemly Weakness and Infirmity. If by the hard streights we are reduced to at any time, we be forced to make shew in our Actions of what we intend not, we must be careful that we do nothing unbecoming our Profession, disagreeable to Truth and Honesty, or that may be an Argument of base Dissembling and playing the Hypocrite.

Thirdly, As we may *lie hid* and *undiscovered*, in regard of our *Perswasions* and *Actions*, so likewise it is certain we may in respect of our *Infirmities* and *Failings*. It is *wisdom* to conceal these, especially from our *Enemies*, and consequently it is *imprudence* to discover them. For next

to a good Conscience, our Fame and Repute are to be look'd after, and carefully preserved. We are obliged to maintain our Credit and Reputation in the World: above all things (except what I named before) these are to be kept inviolable. But those who wish us ill, would rejoyce to know our Weak side; they would triumph in our Follies, and represent them worse than they are, and darken our Names by this means. Therefore, according to that * Learned Knight before named, *Every Man's folly ought to be his greatest Secret.* Let no Man know it, no not a Friend, lest he turn an Enemy. A wise Man will keep his Infirmities to himself, and it will be well if he can do it. Here is occasion for the Serpents *hiding himself.*

Fourthly, It is *Prudence and Wisdom* to conceal and hide our *Persons* in times of extream danger. Thus *Moses* fled into the Land of *Madian* when *Pharaoh* sought his Life. * When *Jezabel* kill'd the Lord's Prophets, *Elijah* hid them in a Cave. *David* escaped *Saul's* Persecution by being let down from a Window. || The *Maccabean Brethren* under *Antiochus's* Persecution fled to *Modin* in the

* Sir W. R. in his Instruction to his Son.

† 1 Kings 18. 13.

|| 1 Mac. 2. 28, 29.

Mountains, and others at the same time retired into the Wilderness. Look into the *New Testament*, and there you'll find that *Joseph*, by a special Admonition from Heaven, fled with *Jesus* into *Egypt*, to avoid the Fury of *Herod*. And afterwards, when *Jesus* was come to Age, we read that when the *Jews* were about to stone him, he got away from them, and when they sought again to take him, he escaped out of their hands, 10 John 39. and at other times he frequently fled from place to place to shun the Dangers with which he was beset. The *Apostles* also herein followed the Example of their Master, which was back'd with his particular Advice to them, *When they persecute you in one City, fly into another*, 23 v. of this Chapter, wherein the words at present consider'd are, *Christ* here adding it as a particular Instance wherein they ought to shew themselves *wise as Serpents*. When the *Jews* would have slain *St. Paul* at *Damascus*, the *Disciples* let him down the Wall in a basket by night, 9 Acts 25. and afterwards the Brethren brought him down to *Cesarea*, and sent him away to *Tarsus*, 30 v. It is thought by some, that the 7th Chapter of the *Revelation* which gives an account of the number of those that were sealed out of every Tribe, speaks of the *Christians* who were mixed with the *Jews* in *Jeru-*

Jerusalem a little before the Besieging of it, and of their Departing out of that City, and Escaping the Plagues which were to follow on the opening of the Seventh Seal. So it was, that by God's admonishment they escaped and fled to *Pella*, situate on the Hills, as *Eusebius* relates.

And this was the practice of the most Eminent Professors of Christianity in the Primitive Times, as we are informed from Ecclesiastical History. Those poor hunted Creatures sought their Safety in their Feet, and betook themselves to Covert. They sheltered themselves in the thick Woods and Groves, they lurked in dark Cells and Caves, and lived under ground for a time : which gave the first occasion of setting up a *Monastical* Life, and wholly Retiring from the World. *Tertullian* (it is true) condemns it as utterly unlawful and sinful to fly in Time of Persecution, and he hath writ a whole * Treatise on this Argument. This Writer was singular in this, as in many other things, as is well known. But let us set against him the famous *Athanasius*, who hath an *Apogetick* † *Oration* in Defence of himself against those who reproached him for his Flying in Time of Persecution. When our Circumstances are thus, that we shall

* De fuga in persecutione.

† Περὶ τῆς διουκασίας τῆς ἐν τῇ διώξει φυγῆς αὐτοῦ.

not relinquish the Cause of Christianity, nor indamage the Truth, nor dishonour Religion by our Flight, we may lawfully step aside, and hide our selves till the Calamity be over-past. When bloody Persecutors assault us, it is Christian Wisdom to evade their Fury by getting out of their way.

To which is contrary the stubborn humour of those Vain-glorious People at this day, who will not stir off of the spot of Ground where their Meeting-places are, though their Lives be endangered. This is Fool-hardiness, and not Evangelical Wisdom, though in other things this sort of People have more of the *Serpent* than they ought to have. It is not to be doubted, that a Good Christian may with a safe Conscience retreat from Danger, and secure himself. In doing this, he follows the Example of the Ancient Holy Prophets, of Christ himself, of the Apostles, and the Primitive Christians. In Extremity of Persecution hide thy self if thou hast a lawful Opportunity: keep close, be not seen: for this is part of the *Serpent's Wisdom*, who hath learnt to *hide himself*.

The Quakers

III. Naturalist's tell us, that when the Serpent is assaulted and struck at, he always

always indeavours to † defend his Head. Though he exposeth his Body, yet he secures That if it be possible. And the Writings of the Fathers take notice of this very frequently. Ὅλον τὸ σῶμα παρὰ δίδωσι, τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον φυλάττει, faith Epiphanius in Physiol. Which latter Clause is κεφαλὴν διασῶσαι, according to Chrysostom on Psal. 114. Now, 'tis easie to apply this, and perhaps it was partly intended by our Lord when he used this Similitude. If the Wisdom of the Serpent be discovered in its taking care to defend its Head, whatever becomes of its Body, we ought to imitate the Serpentine Wisdom in this. When we are exposed to danger, let us ever remember to secure the Main; in Times of Persecution let us deliver all up but that which is our Chief, that is, Faith and a good Conscience. Let us be careful to preserve these before all things whatsoever. Let us part with all to keep these. Also, among Divine Truths, let us distinguish between the Greater and the Lesser, for (as was said before) they are not all alike: some are more Important and Necessary than others, some are of the Essence and Foundation of Christianity. Wherefore let us ever have the

† In presentissimo vitæ & periculo totius corporis sibi obijciunt, ut caput occultent, atque integrum servant. Plin. Nat. Hist.

greatest regard to the Capital and Main Things of Religion, to those Doctrines which are Substantial and Fundamental. Contend we earnestly and with uninterrupted Zeal for These, let us hold These fast above all Things. Let no Persecutors rob us of them, for they are as the Head in respect of the Body; they are our Principal and Chief Concern: Therefore let us be so wise as to keep these safe and entire.

IV. It is said that the *Serpent* to evade and defeat the *Inchanters* force, (and we are told that *Inchanters* used of old to try their Skill on this sort of Creatures, for some particular Reasons) lays one Ear close to the ground, and stops the other with the extream part of his Body. It is attested by very grave Authors, that heretofore some attempted by Charms to make Serpents come out of their dark Holes and Caverns, and to make them lose their Sting, and to vomit up their Poison, yea, to burst asunder.

—————*Cantando rumpitur anguis.*

I refer the Reader to Monsieur *Bochart's Hierozoicon*, the Second Volume, Book 3. Chap. 6. where he will meet with an Admirable Treatise concerning all the Kinds of

of this Inchantment, from all kinds of Authors, Philosophers, Historians, Poets, &c. yea, and the Inspired Writers, as 58 Psal. 4, 5. 10 Eccl. 11. 8 Jer. 17. Now, these subtile Creatures, that they might not hearken to the voice of the Charmer, and so be wrought upon, used to *stop their Ears*, which the Psalmist in the fore-cited place takes particular notice of. Tho' it is probable this is not to be understood in the literal and strict sense, but only signifies that the Charm had no more power on them, than if they were really deaf, or stopped their Ears.

This then is another sort of *Wisdom* which the *Serpent* makes use of, and finds very advantageous. And we must do the like: There are many Charmers, and there are various Inchantments, but we must be deaf to them, lest we be wrought upon by them. There are the Charms of Pleasure, which are exceedingly Ravishing: there are the powerful Spells of Wealth and Riches: Honour and Preferment are no less Inchantments. But we must be like the deaf Adder (or Serpent) that stoppeth her ear, be the charmer never so cunning. If we give ear to the Pleas which Pleasure will make; if we listen to the Lectures of Mammon; if we attend to the loud Acclamations and Applause which accompany Honour, we shall cer-
tainly

tainly be overcome and ruined. But on the contrary, we see what is True *Wisdom*; let us pursue it and practise it. Let neither the Voluptuous Epicure, nor the Greedy Servants of Mammon, nor the Ambitious Aspirers after Honour and Greatness, be able with their Temptations to draw us from our Duty, and cause us to forget God, and neglect our Eternal Salvation. See we that we be thus wise.

V. We are told by *Pliny* and *Ælian*, and other Natural Historians, that *Serpents* cast off their old Skins in the Spring, and then a new one succeeds in their room, and they grow young again. Therefore * *Epiphanius*, speaking of this property of the *Serpent*, tells us that *serpens to ynegas, he puts off his Old Age*. And † *Aristotle* mentions the way how he doth this, viz. by making his Passage through a streight narrow Hole, whereby he rubs off his Old Coat, and so looks fresh and fair. He casts off his Skin and Age together. Hence the Ancients pictured *Æsculapius* with a *Serpent* in his hand, to signify his Skill in Renewing of Mens Bodies which had been Diseased. And from the *Serpent's* thus changing its Skin, it comes to pass that *Versipellis* among the

* In Physiologo.

† Hist. Animal. l. 8.

Latins signifies a *cunning crafty Man*. Whether this part of the Similitude was in the least thought of by our Saviour, I can't say; but I am sure of this, that we may make good use of it.

We may learn Wisdom of the *Serpent* as to This: there is some regard to be had of the *Out-side*. Though Christianity chiefly employs it self *within*, in our Hearts and Consciences, yet it takes care also of the *Outward Man*. It bids us throw off our rough Skin, and become smooth and polished, soft and pliant. Morosity and Austerity are contrary to Christian Prudence. A Christian should not have the Name (which was given *Apollonius Alexandrinus*) of *Δυσκολος*, Austere or Sour. Civility and Courtesie, Moderation and Compliance, Familiarity and Prudent Insinuation, are excellent Qualifications of those Persons who are to admonish and stir up others to Vertuous Undertakings. Hence *Twisted Snakes* or *Serpents* were placed by the Ancients on *Mercury's Wand*, whose chief Task, being an Orator, was *Insinuation*, i. e. a prudent Winding himself into the Affections of his Hearers. This is call'd by the Greeks *μαρσιόδους*, which is a word Metaphorically deduced from the Motion of *Serpents*. For no Creature doth so *insinuate* it self, none doth make its way so *slily* into the

the Bosoms and Embraces of Persons. In this we may lawfully imitate that Animal ; we may strive to conciliate the Love and Favour of others, and to make our selves acceptable to them ; especially when we are to do Good , or when we would escape Danger. The Patriarch Jacob, as plain a Man as he was, notably practised this when he was to meet his Brother Esau. He not only, as was said before, divided his Company into two Squadrons, that if one were set upon, the other might be a Reserve, but he sent before-hand large and rich Presents, and such as would be acceptable for their Rarity. And he sent them not all together, but after one another by several Messengers, that they might seem to be rather more than they were. This he wisely did, to appease his Brother, and to gain his good will. And when he came near to him, he bow'd himself to the ground seven times. He went not clad in a rough Skin to this Man of roughness. No : he paid this high Compliment upon him, *I have seen thy face as though I had seen the face of God,* 33 Gen. 3, 10. Whence I gather that it is Wisdom and commendable Prudence to gain the Favour of bad Men, by using a very Submissive strain of Language to them. Cerberus must have his Hony-Sops. We may give Good words to the Worst

F f 2

Men.

Men, Perhaps that is the Sense, and no other, of the *Hebrew* Saying, tho' more broadly expressed, * *It is lawful to flatter the wicked in this world.*

This is no other then what St. Paul did when he was before King Agrippa, I think my self happy, saith he, because I shall answer for my self this day before thee. And presently after we find him perswading him to Christianity by his professing that he knew he believed. At other times we find this Apostle using this Art of *Insinuation*, as when he perceived his Auditory was mixt, he pretended *Pharisaism* to gain a Party to him, of which I spoke before. So St. Paul being an *Hellenist*, that is, a Jew that usually spoke Greek, and used the Translation of the *Septuagint* (as he doth in his quotations) he knew that on that account he was not acceptable to the *Jews*, who were for the *Hebrew Tongue* and Bible, therefore to gain upon them, he used the *Hebrew Tongue*, 22 *Acts* 2. When he heard that he spake in the *Hebrew Tongue* to them, they kept the more silence, they gave the greater heed to him. By such honest and prudent means we may capture *benevolentiam*, win the Likening and Good Acceptance of those we make our Addresses to. Especially if they

* *Licetum est adulari impiis in hoc mundo.* Sota.

be very great Men and in Authority, we are the more concern'd to do this, for we are not to forget the Counsel of Solomon the Wise, *Not to contend with a mighty man*, 6 Eccl. 10. To which answers that Maxim of Prudence left by Rabbi Gamaliel *, *Beware of Men in power*. And the Hebrews have another Proverb to this purpose, *We must fall down before a Fox in time*. We must labour to divert the mischievous Cunning, as well as Power of Men, by prudently submitting to them, and not carrying our selves proudly and stubbornly before them.

Aristides the Philosopher had learnt this Lesson, and practis'd it upon a Tyrant. But when he was blamed by some for casting himself at his feet, he made this Ingenious Reply, That it was not *his* Fault, but *Dionysius's*, (for that was the Tyrant's Name) who carried his Ears in his Feet: he would not *hear* any Man unless he *crouched* to him, and therefore it was necessary, said the Philosopher, to fall down in that manner. I do not mean that we should sneakingly Crouch and Faun at any Man's Feet. I call not upon any to imitate the *Serpent's creeping on its belly*. But this I assert, that by Fair, Civil, and Obliging Words, and by

* *Cavete vobis a potentibus*. Cap. Patr. c. 2.

Humble Deportment we may, yes, we ought to insinuate our selves so far into the Favour of Great Ones, that we may thereby be freed from the great Evils which they are capable of bringing upon us. At such a time it is seasonable to slip off, and lay aside the rugged Skin, and to appear smooth and complaisant. This is Wisdom not unbecoming Christian Men.

VI. *Serpents*, though they have no Feet and other Organs which the generality of Animals have, yet they are very *Nimble* and *Agile*, they move here and there, this way and that, with wonderful swiftness, and shift into *various Figures* and *Forms*. They can contract and dilate themselves as they please; they can spread themselves at length, or frame themselves into a Circle, or into numerous Folds and Twists. Herein a *wise Man* resembles, in some sort, that Creature. he lawfully varies his Actions according to the Variety of the Circumstances he is in, and the Occasions he meets with. If these be alter'd, he alters his former course: as the *wise Men*, that came to Christ, returned not the same way that they came. He knows how to act differently, according to the Difference of Persons whom he deals with. Thus *St. Paul* circumcised *Timothy* because

because of the weakness of the Jewish Christians : but he would not circumcise Titus, least he should offend the weak Gentile Christians. No Man was more steady than the Apostle, and yet he could vary his Actions according to the People he met with.

And this was the very thing which this Good Man valued himself upon, as appears by his proclaiming it so openly, and insisting upon it so warmly in 1 Cor. 9. 19, &c. *I have made my self servant unto all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews. To them that are under the Law, as under the Law, that I might gain them that are under the Law ; to them that are without Law, as without Law, that I might gain them that are without Law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. To this refers what the Apostle tells the Corinthians, that being crafty, he caught them by guile, 2 Cor. 12. 16. As there is in the Civil Law *malus dolus* & *bonus dolus*, so there is in Religion and Divinity. There is a Good Craft or Guile as well as a Bad one, and this is it which the Apostle practis'd. This was truly *Pia Fraus*, or a Religious Guile. By framing himself according to the Variety*

of Circumstances he met with, by suiting himself according to the Different Genius, Dispositions and States of Men, he wonderfully promoted the Gospel, and advanced the Cause of Christ. This is *Christian Politicks*, this is *Serpentine Wisdom* in the best acception.

And as we must take new Measures, according to the quality of the *Persons* we converse with, so likewise according to the Difference of *Time* and *Place* we are in. That may be successfully done at one Time, which will not prove so at another : and contrary Actions may have the same Event, because of the Different Seasons they were done in. Thus *Scipio* by fighting of *Hanibal*, and *Fabius Maximus* by not fighting him, saved *Rome*. There is great Wisdom in rightly Timing of Things. Therefore it was ever a Maxim among the Wise and Prudent, that, We must give way to Time. * This was always the part of a wise Man, saith *Tully*. † It shews excellent Art and Skill to do this well, saith he in another place. And he blames *Cato* (though his very good Friend) for his unskilfulness in this. He notes this Errour in him, that he was a stiff Commonwealths-man, and could not

* *Tempori cedere, semper sapientis est habitum.* Cic. Epist. Lib. 4. Ep. 9.

† *Tempestati obsequi artis est.* Epist. Lib. 1. Ep. 9.

fit himself to the Times. He complains that his Friend's Vertue was out of fashion in the days he lived in, that he was unprofitable to his Country, and knew not how to Accommodate himself to the Condition of that Age. His Vertue was not calculated for 'the Meridian of this World: therefore *Virgil* brings him in giving Laws to the other World,

Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.

Tully complains that this *Cato* was Overwise, too Resolute and Reforming. He had excellent Notions, † but fitter for *Plato's Commonwealth* than that of *Rome*. *Cato* the younger would needs advise after the rate of the old One; he would give Counsel as if he lived in the *Censors* days, when all things were steady and composed in the Commonwealth.

And to say the truth, this was *Tully's* own fault partly, else he might have died fairly in his Bed. By this we see the Frailty of Mankind, that they can't follow their own Rules, and be Masters of that Discretion which they Dictate to others, and complain if they do not put in practice. That was no unwise Rule which

† *Loquitur tanquam in republicâ Platonis, non tanquam in face Romuli.*

this Statesman gave, That † we must not speak alike at all times ; because indeed the Things themselves are not always alike. And he observes again, That || to hold always in the same Opinion, was never esteemed by the best Managers of Publick Affairs as praise-worthy. Therefore a Prudent Man knows how to change his Sentiments and Determinations according to the Matter and Occasion that are before him, and according to the Different Seasons which present themselves to him. The wisest Pilots tack about, when they see it is Time to do so. *Tempori parendum* was the Motto of the Good Emperour Theodosius the Second, and as it is rightly and duly understood ought to be the Rule of all wise Mens Actions. The Present State of Things must always be consulted, and considered by us, and we must study a Prudent Compliance with it.

On the contrary, a Fool will not observe time, saith the wise Son of Sirach, 18 Eccl. 27. He doth not take notice of the Difference of Seasons, and he will not behave himself according to the Present Occasion. Unless we would have the im-

† *Non idem semper dicere, sed idem semper spectare debemus.*
Cic. Epist. Lib. 1. Ep. 9.

|| *Nunquam prestantibus in republica gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio.* Ibid.

putation of Folly on us, we are concern'd to act otherwise, and to observe that Aphorism of the Holy Spirit speaking by the mouth of Solomon, *A wise man's heart discerns both time and judgment*, 8 Eccl. 5, 6. a Discreet and Prudent Person takes notice of the fit Season and *Crisis* of Action. A wise Man acts not alike at all Times; that is clear from 26 Prov. 4. *Answer not a fool according to his folly*; and v. 5. *Answer a fool according to his folly*. You may do the one, or you may do the other, as you see Occasion. And so in many other Things, a wise Man acts according to the *Circumstances* he is in: he doth what is to be done in such a *Case*: he forms himself according to the different *Dispensations* of Providence which happen, according to the different *Conditions* Heaven places him in. In short, we must think it Prudence not always to act one way, but to comport with the Time so far as we can, without violating the Laws of God, and our own Consciences.

I have now finished the Description of the *Serpent's Natural Wisdom and Sagacity*: he is Quick-sighted, he Hides and Secures himself, especially his Head; he Stops his Ears against Incantments: he casts off his rough Skin: he is very Agile, and can change his Figure. I must needs say,
I

I do not know whether Christ referr'd to all these Particulars, or to which of them he referr'd. But I know this, that these several Heads give us an account of the *Wisdom* of the Serpent, and our Saviour bids us imitate this Creature in That. Nor is it Material whether the Serpent really and actually doth all these things, for I cannot assure you that some of them are not *Vulgar Errours*. But it is as much to my present purpose as I desire, that all these things are commonly Reported and Reputed to belong to Serpents, and that *Philosophers*, as well as *Fathers*, have made mention of them in their Writings, and that *some* of them, without question, are the visible and apparent Properties of those Creatures, and that the *Subtilty* and *Cunning* of them have long since past into a *Proverb*. This last gave occasion to our Saviour, who at other times (as we read) made use of Proverbial Sayings, to do the same here, and to *Admonish* and *Exhort* his Disciples (not to *permit* them only, as Dr. Hammond on the place is of Opinion) to imitate Serpents in their Wisdom. And how this ought to be done, and how the *Particular Cases* of it are to be stated, I have shew'd. The Sum of all is, Christians are not to be Inconsiderate and Rash, but to behave themselves Warily and Cautiously, with Prudence and Discretion.

Discretion. They must follow *Tobias's* excellent Instruction to his Son, *Be circumspect in all things thou doest, and be wise in all thy conversation,* 4 Tob. 14.

And now, after all the Instances of *Christian Prudence* and *Wisdom* which I have offer'd, I would not be mistaken. Let none think that I have in any of the forenamed Particulars advised them to anything that is Base and Unworthy, unbecoming our Profession and High Calling. I know there is a *Serpentine Craft* practis'd in the World, there are many crooked Turnings and Windings, and they oftentimes prove not very profitable to them that use them: for, as my Lord *Bacon* observes, *There be they that can pack the Cards, and yet cannot play well.* I have commended to the Reader no wily Tricks, no unlawful Cunning, no unwarrantable Time-serving, no *halting between God and Baal*. I encourage no such thing as shaping our Religion to the Times; I abhor all accommodating our selves to them which is attended with sinful Compliance. I have approved of the *Serpent's Wisdom*, as to the main: but truly the *Amphisbæna*, the Serpent with a Head at both ends, and which goes both ways, we must beware of. This is *Hypocrisie*, not *Wisdom*. This Caveat I desire may be entred here, that we may not misrepresent what

what hath been said. I would not have any purchase the Repute of Politicians and Long-heads by any sinful Act or Enterprize, as too many at this day do. There was of old a sort of † Hereticks call'd *Ophitani* or *Ophite*, because they paid a Reverence and Adoration unto Serpents. These Men may be said to do so, they *Worship Serpents*: *Cunning* is their Religion, *Policy* is their Divinity, *Reason of State* is instead of Christianity. But this Discourse hath allowed of nothing of this Nature. It is *Christian Prudence*, not *Worldly Craft* which I have been commending. It is the *Wisdom of the Serpent*, but in Conjunction with the *Harmlessness of the Dove*. And so I pass to the next Clause of the Words, and to consider the *Similitude* contain'd in them, which I will dispatch with more brevity than I did the other, because it requires not any large Explication.

† Theoloret. Heret. Fab. l. 1.

Be ye harmless as Doves.

WE read that the Holy Ghost was pleased at Christ's Baptism to † descend upon him like a Dove, that is, the Holy Ghost in some outward and bodily representation hover'd over our Saviour, and light upon him as a Dove useth to hover and light. Or, as Grotius and others think, he descended on Christ like a Dove, i.e. in the shape of that Creature, which I take to be the more probable Assertion, because tho' St. Matthew expresses this Descent by *ωσεὶ περιστερῆς*, yet St. Luke doth it thus, *ὡς παρὰ τὸν εἶδος ὡσεὶ περιστερῆς*. Yea, Aquinas is of opinion that the Holy Ghost informed a true living Dove, and appeared in its Likeness. However it was, it is agreed that a Dove represented the *Holy Spirit*: and I doubt not but Christ also was at that time represented by it, that Apparition being at his Baptism, which signified how Pure, Spotless, and Innocent he was. Indeed a Dove was a fit Hieroglyphick to set forth the Nature, both of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, the Authors of Purity and Innocence. (Therefore as our Saviour had a Dove that descended on him, so Mahomet, perhaps to ape Christ, had the

† 3 Matth. 16.

like Creature fluttering about him frequently, not only to signifie his pretended Converse with the Spirit, or some Celestial Intelligence, but to represent (it is likely) his seeming Innocent and Dove-like Temper and Inclinations). And a *Dove* is a Representation and Emblem, not only of *Christ* and the *Sacred Spirit*, but of all true *Believers* and *Holy Persons*, who are acted by that Spirit. The Church in the *Canticles* is often stiled a *Dove*. All the Members of it partake of the sweet Nature and mild Temper of that Creature. And *Christ's Disciples* are particularly here reminded by him to imitate and resemble it, *Be ye harmless as doves.*

Which *Harmlessness* or Innocence may have a double acception; 1. The word *ἀνίσταται* is said by some to be the same with *ἀνίσταται*, and is a Metaphor taken from those Animals which Nature hath armed with *Horns*, whereby they are able to hurt: and so the word implies that *Doves* are not such, they cannot use Violence: therefore by a peculiar Epithet they are stiled *Imbellis*, they have no power to do harm. The *Serpent* hath a Sting, but this Animal hath none, and nothing like it. Doves of all Fowls are the most Innoxious. They are not furnished with Offensive Weapons. They injure no other Animals, but are most shiftless themselves. They are Gentle
and

and Placid, and their Mildness is so remarkable, that it is become (a) *Proverbial*. Thence it was anciently said by (b) *Writers*, that a Dove was without Gall. But both (c) *Aristotle* and (d) *Galen* tell us, that there is the Gall of a Dove, but it hath not the same place and situation that the Gall of other Creatures hath. Thence it is probable arose the mistake, which is rightly placed among *Vulgar Errors*, and is refuted as such by an Ingenious Pen. In short, these Domestic Animals are Familiar, Friendly and Good-natur'd: they are Gentle, Quiet and Inoffensive.

Herein ought Christians to imitate them, and our Saviour exhorts them to do so here. They must be as Harmless as those poor Tame Creatures. It is their indispensable Duty to be Meek and Mild, to be free from Gall and Bitterness, to be Kind, Friendly and Loving. (e) They take Injuries rather than do them; they patiently bear Persecution, and resist not. Yet these Doves are heard to *Mourn*; they are pitiful and compassionate Crea-

(a) *Mitior Columbâ.*

(b) *Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. 1. c. 5. Tertullian. de Baptismo cap. 8. Isidor. Orig. l. 12.*

(c) *Hist. Animal. l. 2. c. 15.*

(d) *Lib. de Atra bile.*

(e) *— Vexat censura columbas. Juv.*

tures, they Lament the Evils and Miseries which befall their Brethren ; they Grieve for the Afflictions of *Joseph*, and affectionately resent all the Calamities of the Faithful. A good Christian is Merciful and Tender-hearted ; he loves to administer Solace and Relief to the Distressed. This *Dove* delights to come with an *Olive-branch*, to be a Messenger of Peace and Comfort, to do Offices of Love and Friendship ; to be serviceable to the World, and to do all the Good he can in it.

There is a *second* acception of the word, for according to some Etymologists ἀν-
 παγ is as much as *Sincere*, or without *Mixture*: and the Scholiast on *Euripides's Orestes*, makes this and ἀπλῆς the same. So then the *Simplicity* of the Dove is here denoted by this word. Some other Animals are remarkable for their Falseness and Double-dealing ; but this is a Simple, Plain, Down-right Creature, void of Deceit and Fraud. And in this also he is a Pattern for Christ's Disciples: they must be Sincere and Unmixt, without Guile and Deceit, free from Hypocrisie, and Strangers to all Dissimulation. As they are not provided with Weapons to hurt, so they have no Desires nor Intentions to do it. They are without all Plots and Contrivances to do ill; they have

have no Designs of Vice or Mischief. Integrity and Uprightness of Heart is a Grace unseparable from a True Christian. This is often stiled in the *Septuagints* Translation of the Old Testament, and in the New *ἀπλότης* *Simplicity*, and the Possessors of it are termed *ἄπλοι*, *Simple*: they are pure and uncorrupted, and not mingled with any thing that is adulterated. They serve God *heartily*, and they are *free* and *open* in their Conversation with Men. As it is obvious to every ones notice, that the Creatures I am speaking of, love to inhabit high and open places, and where the Light comes. They Converse in the open Air, contrary to the Nature of some other Animals, which lurk in dark Holes, and come not abroad in the Day time. Men of Upright Spirits are Free and Ingenuous in their Converse, their Breasts are open, and by their Words and Actions, you may look into them, and see that they speak and act from thence. Their Lives and Conversations shew that they are Lovers of Sincerity, Plainness and Simplicity: the Integrity of their Actions declares that they abhor the Thoughts and Practice of whatever is Vicious and Sinful.

This is the larger Extent of the word. Be ye ἀνεγνωστοί, that is, be unacquainted with all Sin and Vice. According to the best Expositor and Critick, I mean St. Paul, this word signifies so much: as we may satisfy our selves by consulting the 16 Rom. 19. *I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil, ἀνεγνώστος, the very word which we translate Harmless in the place before us. Have nothing to do with that which is Evil and Vicious, neither Contemplate on it, nor act it. Therefore in Hesychius ἀνέπαυστος is ἀναπαύω, without sin. This then is the most Comprehensive Meaning of the Precept, Be harmless, i. e. be Strangers to the Ways of Sin and Wickedness; be not guilty of any unlawful and sinful Action. Do not Evil though Good may come of it. As you must not harm others, so do no harm your selves by sinning against God. Do nothing to injure your Brethren; but besides that, wrong not your own Consciences. This is the Dove-like Simplicity, this is the Christian Innocency and Harmlessness which Christ here would have us joyn with the Serpentine Wisdom.*

And therefore having explain'd both these parts of the words *severally* and *by themselves*, I will now treat of them
joynly,

joyntly, and in farther pursuance of the *Casnistical* part of this *Exercitation*, shew how the *Serpent's Wisdom* and the *Dove's Innocence* must go hand in hand.

1. *Innocence* must not be without *Prudence*. Christ bids his Disciples be as *Harmless* as Doves, but not as *Silly* as those Creatures. As there was something in the *Serpent* not to be imitated, as his Sting, his Poison, his lying in wait for Passengers, and watching to hurt them; so in the *Dove* there is something which is not to be matter of our Imitation; for this is a Fowl that takes no notice of the Net laid, or of her young Ones taken from her: she comes again to the Net or Snare after she hath escaped; and when her young Ones are taken away, she lays others again in the same Nest. What more foolish than this? Therefore the Prophet complains of *Ephraim*, that she was a *silly dove without heart*, 7 Hof. 11. A silly Dove without heart! What strange Riddle is this? Had it been a Dove without Gall, a fair Interpretation might have been made of it, or it might have pass'd at least as a Vulgar Errour. But a *Dove without heart* may seem to be no less than some unheard of Monster, or affrighting Prodigy. But we shall soon cease our wondering,

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dring, and easily know what the Prophet means by consulting the 6 Prov. 32. and other places in that Book, where we shall find, that *without heart* is as much as *without understanding and judgment*: as the Latin *Vecors*, that is, *sine corde*, is no other than *Foolish* or *Doating*. The *silly Dove* is a Creature *without heart*, without the *Wit and Wisdom* of the *Serpent*. This *Separation* is not allowable. Christ commends not the *Foolishness*, but the *Harmlessness* of the Dove, which is the most Remarkable quality in it, and for which it ought to be imitated by us. The Holy Spirit appeared in the shape of a *Dove*, not of a *Goose*. Tho' we read that such as went to *Jerusalem*, to advance the *Holy War*, carried this Creature before them, blasphemously pretending that it was the Holy Ghost. The *Roman Religion*, which they profess'd, is for *Ignorance*, and so that Animal may be a fit Symbol for them. It is this *Goose* that hath hitherto preserv'd the *Roman Capitol*.

But Primitive Christianity was built upon Sound Knowledge and Wisdom. Though those first Christians were branded with the Epithet of *Asinarii*, (as *Tertullian* saith) as if they had a defect in their Understanding, yet it is certain they never deserved that Name: for they constantly

constantly observ'd their Master's Advice, and joyn'd Prudence with Innocence. And there was good reason for it; because † Honesty and Integrity are hardly safe of themselves. Innocency will betray us, unless it be guarded with Discretion. Probity must be attended with Prudence and Wariness in all good Men, that they may understand their Danger, as well as their Duty, and that whilst they are discharging of this, they may not run into that; that whilst they are serving God, they may not be supplanted by Men.

2. *Prudence* must not be without *Innocence*: for then the most Lovely and Useful quality of a Christian, and the choicest Part of our Religion would be wanting: then Prudence it self would soon degenerate into Craft and meer Carnal Policy, and we should hereby have an Ability to do more Hurt than others in the World. Our Saviour therefore purges and separates Prudence from all Fraud and Guile. The Serpent is subtil to avoid Danger, but then it is cunning to endanger others. It follows therefore, *Be harmless as Doves*. As we are to take care that others may not injure us, so we

† *Parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est.* Salust.

must be careful that we do not injure them. Innocence must be added to Prudence, that we may not design Mischief to others, and be able to accomplish it with Dexterity, whilst we are on our guard to prevent the Mischief design'd against our selves.

What I have thus said, gives us a brief account why *Innocence* stands in need of *Prudence*, and why *Prudence* must be accompanied with *Innocence*. The Serpents Wisdom is requisite, that we may not be Deceived and Hurt: the Doves harmlessness is necessary that we our selves may not Deceive or Hurt. By Christian Prudence we take care that we fall not into Snares: by Evangelical Simplicity we are hindred from bringing others into them. The World is False and Injurious, it deceiveth and oppresseth: against these *Christ* arms the Christian with Serpentine Wisdom, which will teach him to guard himself from either. But that his Skill to escape Frauds and Injuries may not be converted into Deceiving and Harming others, he is commanded to carry constantly about with him the Doves Simplicity and Inoffensiveness.

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The Christian *Fathers* often insist upon both these, and joyn them together. * Let none impose upon you, saith the Blessed Martyr *Ignatius*, and see that you be not imposed upon by others. † Have the Simplicity of the Dove, saith St. *Jerom*, that thou maist not contrive how to cheat any one ; have the Subtilty of the Serpent, that thou maist not be supplanted by the Snares which others lay for thee. There are many things to this purpose in the Heathen Moralists ; I will mention only that of || *Tully*, The Skill (saith he) which is separated from Justice and Honesty, is rather to be stiled Craft than Wisdom.

But the *Harmlesness* of the Dove is to be taken (as I have said before) in a larger Sense. We must not only see that we harm not our Brethren, but likewise that we offend not God and our own Consciences in any kind. It is not enough that we manage our Worldly Affairs with Discretion, and that we are so Wise and Prudent, as not to Expose our

* Μὴ ἑν τῇς ὑμῶν ἰσχύι ἀπαίτιον, ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἀπαίτιον.
Ep. ad Ephes.

† Habeto simplicitatem columbae, ne cuiquam machineris dolos ; & serpentis astutiam, ne aliorum supplanteris insidiis. Epist. ad Paulin.

|| Scientia quae à justitiâ & honestate sejuncta est Caliditas potius quàm Sapientia est appellanda. De Offic. l. 1.

selves to Danger and Sufferings ; but we must moreover make it our great care to keep our selves from all known sin, and to please God our Great Master in every thing that we do. Christ enjoyns us to walk Warily , and with great Caution and Prudence , but yet he would have us by all means preserve an Universal Integrity : he bids us act Wisely and Discreetly, yet withal he suffers us not to do any thing Vicious and Sinful. These then go together , *Prudence and Goodness.*

Which was represented in the *Urim* and *Thummim* in the High-Priest's Pectoral, the signification whereof was *Light* and *Perfection*, or *Wisdom* and *Integrity*, ~~that~~ *those* very same things that are enjoyn'd here by our Saviour. And that of the Apostle before-mentioned is nearly allied, *I would have you wise unto that which is Good, and simple concerning Evil.* So is the Advice of the same Holy and Inspired Person in 1 Cor. 14. 20. *Be not children in understanding, but in malice be ye children.* It is the very same with Christ's Counsel to his Disciples. And so is that in 5 Eph. 15. *See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools , but as wise, redeeming the time.* The Innocence of the Dove is the former part of the Apostolical Admonition, and the Wisdom of the

Serpent

Serpent is the latter part of it. St. James compriseth both these, when he saith, the wisdom that is from above is first pure, and then peaceable, 3 James 17. Purity or Integrity joyned with a Peaceable, Wary, and Complying Carriage makes up the Christian Wisdom.

This according to Nazianzen is *χρηστικὴ συντομία κατὰ φύσιν*, Goodness mixed and temper'd with Understanding: and according to Hilary, it is *Simplex Sapientia*, and *Sapiens Simplicitas*. And not only Sacred, but Prophane Authors commend these to us; it is Plato's mind, *δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη μετὰ φρονήσεως συνεύεται*, that Justice and Piety should be in conjunction with Prudence. Among the several Ingredients that go to the Composition of a Happy Life, * *Prudent Simplicity* is one according to the Epigrammatist. Thus our Saviour's Excellent Advice is approv'd of and applauded by the Pagans as well as by the Professors of Christianity: which shews that, as it is adjusted to the higher Laws of the Christian Religion, so it is founded in the very Depth of Morality, and is that which Right Reason dictates to all Men, viz. that the Dove and the Serpent ought to be coupled together. This is intimated methinks in the different signification of the Hebrew word *Gnarus*. The Ser-

* *Prudens simplicitas*. Martial. l. 10. Epigr. 47.

pent is said to be *gnarum*, Subtile, 3 Gen. 1. and *Adam* and *Eve* in their state of Innocence are said to be *gnarummim*, Simple, Naked, 2 Gen. 25. We are admonished by this *Criticism* to joyn both the Senses together, *i. e.* to be Simple, Naked and Open, as well as to understand the Rules of Subtilty, Prudence and Caution.

I shall have finish'd this *Exercitation*, when I have return'd an answer to one or two *Objections*, which I foresee may be started. Perhaps it may be said that the Sacred Scripture sometimes divideth Innocence from Prudence, and seems to allow of that Division. For this is to be seen in the Example of *Naaman*, a great Officer of the King of Syria: *In this thing*, saith he, (speaking to *Elisha* the Prophet) *the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my Master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow my self in the house of Rimmon: when I bow down my self in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing.* And he (that is, the Prophet *Elisha*) said unto him, *Go in peace.* 2 Kings 5. 18, 19. *Naaman* was a Wise and Prudent Courtier, and would not quit his Master's Service: he desired to be excused if he bowed in the Temple of *Rimmon*. And the Prophet excuseth him,

him, bidding him go in peace: and consequently Prudence may sometimes be dislevered from Innocence and a Good Conscience, unless these and bowing to an Idol be consistent.

To answer to this Objection, we may take leave to vary from our English Translation, and to render the words thus; *In (or, for) this thing the Lord pardon thy servant in his Master's going (so it is exactly according to the Original) into the house of Rimmon, to bow himself there, and he hath leaned on my hand, and I bowed my self in the house of Rimmon. In (or, for) my bowing my self in the house of Rimmon the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing.* So the words may well be rendred, and then it appears that Naaman speaks of something that was already done, not of any thing that was to be done. He asks pardon for a Fault which he had committed, not for one that he was to be guilty of for the future. I doubt not but this Interpretation will be allowed of by the Reader, if he pleases to consult the Title of the 51 Psalm, where גָּבוּחַ (which is the very Hebrew word that we meet with in the front of the forecited Text, and is rendred by our English Translators *when he goeth*) is translated *when he came*. And the Like we may see in the

Title

Title of the 52 Psalm, and in that likewise of 54 Psalm: in both which places מִנְּחָל is understood not in the *Future*, but in the *Præterit Tense*. And certainly there is as much reason that it should be so taken in that fornamed place in the *Kings*. So the Verb יָנַח which here is translated *he leaneth*, is by the same Translators rendred *he leaved*, 2 Sam. 1. 6. And I could add, that the same Hebrew Verb which afterwards in the same Verse in that Text in the *Kings*, is twice rendred *I bow my self*, is in another place, namely 33 *Exod.* 10. translated in the *past Tense*. This is enough to satisfie the Critical Reader that the Text objected may be fairly understood thus, *Naaman* here craves forgiveness for his *past* Idolatry, and not for any that he was like to commit *afterwards*. And the Prophet seeing his Penitence for his past Crime, bids him *go in peace*. Here is no such thing then as the countenancing of *Naaman's* bowing to an *Idol*, and letting him Prudently and Politickly keep his Place with the loss of his Integrity. This may suffice to stop the Mouths of the Objectors.

But

But if we take the words, according to our Translators and others, as respecting the *future time* (and it is certain we may do so, for the words are so disposed in the Hebrew, that they may be rendred both ways) even then it is no difficult thing to shew, that they contain nothing of that nature in them which the *Objectors* imagine. For it is probable that this *Bowing* here spoken of, was only a *Civil Worship*. Which seems to be implied in *Naaman's* inserting of that Clause, [*when he leaneth on my hand:*] which acquaints us, say some, that *Benhadad*, his Master, being lame or infirm, was upheld by his Arm. But I should rather think that this vulgar Notion of King *Benhadad's* being Lame might well be laid aside, seeing we read nothing of it; but on the other hand, we frequently read that the *Eastern Kings* used to lean upon the Hands or Arms of the Great Lords and Courtiers. And this is recorded of one of the King's of *Israel*, 2 Kings 2. 7. and again 17 v. And we read that this was in use, not only among the *Eastern Nations*, but among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Yea, not only Kings and Princes, but Queens and great Ladies, were wont to be held up with others Hands, their Familiars and Confidants. See *Hofman's Lexicon*, p. 922. Now, in my judgment,

judgment, it seems most probable that *Benhadad's leaning on Naaman's hand* refers to this Ancient Usage and Practice among Crown'd Heads. And when we remember that this Honour was done by them to those that were most in their Esteem and Favour; and when we also read expressly, that *Naaman was a great man with his Master, and honourable*, 2 Kings 5.1. we can scarcely doubt of what I have offer'd, namely, that this *Leaning* here spoken of, was not by reason of any Lameness and Infirmary that the Syrian King was troubled with, but that it was purely out of *State and Grandeur*, and to shew his good will to his Favourite. Now, whenever the King was pleased to shew himself thus Favourable and Kind to *Naaman*, we must suppose that *Naaman* used to bow himself in token of Respect and Honour to his Royal Master. And this is the *bowing* spoken of here, and it was become part of his Office, it was Service and Obeisance paid to his King, not to the Idol. Yea, it is credible that he was not so much as present at the Idol-Worship. When he had done his Office, he withdrew, and had leave to absent himself from the Idolatrous Service.

And

And that in these words he prays not to be excused for the future from an *Idolatrous Bowing* in the Temple of *Rimmon*, may be gather'd from these two things expressly set down here in the 17th verse; first, from his firm Resolution that he will worship no other God but the God of Israel: *Thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt-offering nor (any other) sacrifice unto other Gods, but unto the Lord.* Secondly, In pursuance of this his Resolve, that he will sacrifice to the True God, and Worship him alone, he desires there may be given him two mules burden of earth, that he might erect an Altar upon Holy Ground, for such he esteemed the Earth of *Judea* to be. He had found the Waters of that Country better than those of his own, and he thought the Ground was so too, and that it had something Sacred in it: and therefore he chose that above all others. And can we imagine, that he who was so Curious and Exact as to this matter, would Prophane that Sacred Earth by offering thereupon a Sacrifice to an *Idol*? It is clear therefore that it was a *Civil*, not a *Religious Bowing*, which is here meant.

But it will be said, why then did he ask pardon for it? I answer, this only shews that *Naaman*, a New Convert, was very Scrupulous and Tender, and was

afraid to offend even in a lesser matter: he prays that even his Civil Bowing may not be imputed to him. And accordingly the Prophet dismisseth him without taking notice of so small a thing. It was no real Fault (as appears from his former Resolution;) and therefore he is sent away without any Rebuke: *Go in Peace*, saith the Good Prophet to him. Here then we see, is no Allowance given to *Naaman* to serve his Master, and to worship an Idol at the same time: here is nothing of that nature intended in this Text, for it speaks only of *Naaman's Civil Bowing*.

But I will add this also, That if we should grant it to be Religious Bowing that is here meant, yet this will be no advantage at all to the *Objectors*; for they will never be able to prove that here is any Connivance given to *Naaman* to hold his Office with the practice of Idolatry: for they are mistaken when they think those words, *Go in peace*, are words of Allowance and Approbation: they are to be look'd upon rather as a Valedictory Salutation, and no other. Or, say that they imply some Allowance and Liking, yet we might answer, that *Go in peace* was said in reference to *Naaman's* pious Resolve, That he would never afterwards Sacrifice

fice to any God but the True one. And if those words were not spoken with any reference at all to Naaman's Bowing, it is absurd, yea, altogether impossible to make such an Inference from this Text as is in the foremention'd Objection.

Others, in opposition to what I have said, object the behaviour of St. Peter and St. Paul, as it is represented by some of the * Fathers; who tell us that the Dissention between St. Peter and St. Paul in 2 Gal. 11, 12. was but Seeming and Counterfeit: the latter did not in good earnest oppose the former, but they had agreed to make a shew of a Quarrel, only on Prudential Considerations. More especially † St. Jerome declares himself of this opinion; for he expressly saith that St. Paul dissembled and acted a part when he reproved St. Peter. It was to carry on a Good Design, it was done in Christian Policy. The brief Answer to this is, That these Fathers were overseen; and it is not the first time that they have been so, and have misinterpreted some places of Scripture. But can any Man i-

* Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril.

† Comment. in Epist. ad Galat.

imagine that St. Paul acted a part, when he so Seriously declares that *he withstood Peter to the face*, and adds the Reason, *because he was to be blamed*, v. 11. Can it be thought that the Apostle *dissembled*, when he reprehends some of his Brethren in the *same place* for *Dissembling*, and others for being *carried away with their Dissimulation*, verse 13. Say not then that this Quarrel was not real, but in appearance only. Most of the Commentators on this place blame those Fathers for this their Opinion. And * other Fathers and Writers, ancients than those before-mentioned, declare it to be their mind that St. Paul was in good earnest, and that there was no Collusion in the matter. And St. Augustine hath particularly confuted the contrary Mistake in two of his *Epistles*. It is manifest then, that the *Objectors* can make nothing out of this, or the other place before alledged. Wherefore I conclude that *Prudence* and *Innocence* are the Great Conduct of our Lives, and are to be inseparably united in all our Actions.

* Tertull. cont. Marcion. Lib. 5. Cyprian. Epist. 71. ad Quintum.

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Why Ascleapius holds
a serpent in his hand }

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